THE GREAT FAMINE – AN IRISH TRAGEDY AND ITS IMPACT ON THE ENGLISH TOWN OF HUDDERSFIELD FROM 1845 – 1861

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To my husband Robert and daughter Lily,
Thanks for being there

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Introduction and Overview:

Britain has always been a popular place for the Irish to emigrate to as it offered opportunities of work and wages that were not available at home. It therefore became a very attractive destination during the 1840s, the worst years of the Famine when the Irish flooded into Britain. According to the census returns, 1,520,000 Irish people emigrated from Ireland during the period 1850 – 1888.[1] America was the preferred option, closely followed by Britain. E. P. Thompson guesstimates that in 1841 'over 400,000 inhabitants of Great Britain had been born in Ireland; many more tens of thousands were born in Britain of Irish parentage.'[2] The figures increased substantially afterwards. Contrary to this, Swift and Gilley suggest that there were far fewer Irish living in Britain in 1841 than Thompson suggests. Furthermore, their statistics confirm that between 1841 and 1861, there were far more Irish people living in Britain. They indicate that, 'the Irish-born population of England and Wales rose from 291,000 in 1841 to 520,000 in 1851, reached its peak of 602,000 in 1861, when it constituted about 3 % in a population of sixteen million' [3] To them, within a ten-year span, there were an additional 229,000 Irish living in Britain. Despite these differences in figures, the fact is that both agree that the number of Irish emigrants increased substantially.

There is a great deal of debate amongst historians on how much of an impact the Irish made. Indeed despite their numbers, they represented only 3 per cent of the population: 'the Irish never posed a danger of swamping the natives.'[4] Even so, their presence was visible. Enormous work opportunities meant that London, Liverpool, Manchester and industrial towns were popular destination points.[5] One of the towns where there was a significant Irish presence was Huddersfield. Although a relatively small town compared to London, Liverpool

[1] Michael G. Mulhall, *The Dictionary of Statistics* (London, George Routledge & Sons, 1909), p. 247.
[2] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, Penguin Books, 1991), p. 469.
[3] Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley, *The Irish in the Victorian City* (London, Croom Helm, 1985), p. 1.
[4] Alan O'Day, 'Varieties of Anti-Irish Behaviour in Britain 1846 – 1922', Pankos Panayi, *Racial Violence in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1996), p. 27.
[5] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p. 469.

and Manchester, nonetheless there were 1509 Irish living in the area. Resembling elsewhere, the majority of them, (1318 people) lived within the town centre's boundaries. Further to this, the census reveals occupational information on 1109 Irish people.[6] The purpose of this study is to examine the development of the Irish community in Huddersfield with the aim of establishing how the experience of a small Irish community compared with that of other industrial towns in Britain. There may have been fewer Irish in Huddersfield but even so, there are comparisons to be made between the type of accommodation and jobs acquired by them as compared with other Irish groups in other towns.

Huddersfield located in West Yorkshire (16 miles South-West from Leeds and 24 miles North-East of Manchester) was traditionally famous for its woollen industry. Surprisingly the Irish were not drawn into this trade. Instead, in line with the rest of Britain, they worked chiefly as labourers, hawkers, servants or in 'other' occupations. Further to this, Huddersfield was distinctive since the local population welcomed the arrival of the Irish. The experiences of the Irish in Bradford and Leeds were similar to that encountered elsewhere and will be referred to emphasise how distinctive Huddersfield was. In short, there may have been some similarities in the experiences of the Irish but how much of a difference was there in the life of the Irish in Huddersfield compared to Leeds and Bradford?

The manor of Huddersfield was owned by the Ramsden family who continued to maintain ownership until 1920. Initially, the terrain of the land meant that families struggled to grow enough food for their families. Instead, they raised sheep and the plentiful supply of wool was converted into cloth that was subsequently sold. At the outset, the industry was found in either people's homes or in small mills but during the course of the Industrial Revolution, larger mills appeared in the valleys. The Ramsden' family assisted with the

[6] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851 – based on Huddersfield Town Centre South-East, Town Centre North, Town Centre South-West, Kirkburton, Lindley, Linthwaite, Greenhead/Springwood, Longroyd, Lockwood & Lepton.

development of this industry by constructing a Cloth Hall in the town in 1766 and a canal named after a family member, Sir John Ramsden was completed in 1780. Eventually, the arrival of the railway in the 1840s meant that the town and its industries expanded even further.[7]

As the town grew, the introduction of machinery in mills caused unrest and there was a visible Luddite presence in the early nineteenth century; George Mellor actively led the croppers to oppose the use of such equipment since their existence threatened their jobs. In the 1830s and 1840s, Richard Oastler backed a campaign to limit the number of hours worked in factories and resist the workhouse based new Poor Law of 1834. Politically, change occurred in 1832 when Huddersfield Township secured a seat in Parliament. Throughout the nineteenth century, it was mainly a Liberal town. Another key date in the history of the town was 1868 when it became an incorporated borough with an elected corporation.[8]

Historians have been fascinated with the immigration of the Irish into Britain. In particular, they have focused upon eight major themes or debates. The first relates to when exactly the Irish began coming to Britain and in turn what motivated them to leave their homeland. David Fitzpatrick argues that after the Act of Union the number of Irish in Britain dramatically increased and more so around the time of the Famine.[9] Dillon too believes that despite a long history of migration to Britain, it was the onset of the Famine that exacerbated the situation. [10] Fitzpatrick then continues to explain the circumstances around why the Irish left Ireland and concludes that people were pushed out of their homes due to the lack of

[7] www.huddersfieldhistory.wordpress.com/huddersfields-history
[8] Ibid.
[9] David Fitzpatrick, 'A peculiar tramping people: the Irish in Britain 1801 – 70', in *A New History of Ireland, Volume 5 – Ireland under the Union 1, 1801 -70*, W. E. Vaughan, (Editor) (Oxford, Clarendon Press,1989), p. 623.
[10] Dillon, T., B.A. 'The Irish in Leeds 1851 – 1861', *The Thoresby Miscellany, Vol. 16* (Leeds, 1979), p. 1.

opportunities available to them in Ireland.[11] The second area of interest relates to where the Irish came from and as to whether or not the Irish in various towns and cities come from particular areas in Ireland. Fitzpatrick observes that from 1851 – 71 many of the Yorkshire Irish came from Mayo and Sligo in the West of Ireland.[12] Donald MacRaild concurs with Fitzpatrick that there were indeed people from Connacht in the West of Ireland. In addition, he adds there were people from Leinster, in the East of Ireland. [13] The third concerns the route ways taken by the Irish to reach Britain. Fitzpatrick believes that people from Connacht, in the West of Ireland would have emigrated from Dublin to Liverpool.[14] In Graham Davis' mind, there were three different route ways to Britain whereby people from different provinces in Ireland were attracted to different areas in Britain. Fourthly there is serious disagreement about the extent to which the Irish integrated which is closely inter-twined with the theme of whether or not they lived in a ghetto. Clem Richardson believes the fact they were not welcome in Bradford meant that they were forced to live in a ghetto whilst Engels who coined the term 'ghettoisation' maintains that the Irish in Manchester were a separate community.[15] In contrast, Steven Fielding suggests that economic circumstances determined where the Irish lived'[16] although Lowe[17] and Lynn Hollen Lees are like minded in that they feel that family was important to the Irish and subsequently people were drawn to settle where they had connections.[18] The fifth area of interest has to do with the types of jobs taken by the Irish when they got to Britain. James S. Donnelly claims that before the Famine Irish

[11] Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration 1801 - 70', in *New History of Ireland, Volume 5*, p. 562.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Donald MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain* (Basingstoke & London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), p. 67.
[14] Fitzpatrick, 'A peculiar tramping people', p. 628.
[15] Steven Fielding, *Class & Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England 1880 – 1939* (Buckingham, Open University Press, 1993), p. 27.
[16] Ibid.
[17] William James Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire 1846 – 71: A Social History' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1974), p. 15.
[18] Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin Irish Immigrants in Victorian Londo*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1979), p. 44.

emigrants were skilled workers but after the Famine, it was the reverse, they were unskilled.[19] Dillon concurs. The sixth theme concerns Irish involvement in crime. Both Roger Swift[20] and Frances Finnegan[21] agree that Irish involvement in crime was often exaggerated to be much worse than it actually was. Swift,[22] Lowe[23] and Fitzpatrick[24] are also inclined to regard the consumption of alcohol responsible for many Irish offences. The seventh debate relates to conditions lived in by the Irish. Henry Mayhew,[25] Dillon[26] and Colin Pooley[27] all maintain that poverty forced the Irish to live in poor conditions. Although John Hickey hints that the Irish were not as fussy as English people.[28] Finally, the eighth area of discussion has to do with the importance of religion to the migrants. Roger Swift argues that British people believed that Irish people were entangled with the Catholic Church.[29]

Cheap fares meant it was easy to move to Britain. Since Liverpool was the main Irish port and Dublin was nearest to it, naturally many of the migrants left from there. More prospects in towns and cities meant that migrants were drawn to them. Those with family and friends already settled were another enticement. David Fitzpatrick argues that, where the Irish settled was established before the Famine, they were attracted to places where there were other Irish and as already outlined believes that the Yorkshire Irish were drawn from

[19] James S. Donnelly Jr, 'Excess Mortality and emigration', in *A New History of Ireland, Volume 5 – Ireland under the Union 1, 1801 -70*, W. E. Vaughan, (Editor) (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989) , p. 354.
[20] Roger Swift, (Editor), *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain 1815 – 1914* (Cork, Cork University Press, 2002), p. 79.
[21] Frances Finnegan, *Poverty & Prejudice: A Study of Irish Immigrants in York 1840 – 1875* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1982), p. 152.
[22] Swift, *Irish Migrants*, p. 78.
[23] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 217.
[24] Fitzpatrick, 'A peculiar tramping people', p. 648.
[25] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London, Penguin Books, 1985), p. 56.
[26] Dillon, 'The Irish in Leeds', p. 12.
[27] Colin G. Pooley, 'Migration, Mobility & Residential Areas in Nineteenth Century Liverpool' (Submitted for Doctorate of Philosophy, December 1978), p.347.
[28] John Hickey, *Urban Catholics: Urban Catholicism in England and in Wales from 1829 to the Present day* (London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1967), p. 42.
[29] Roger Swift, *The Irish in Britain 1815 – 1914 – Perspectives & Sources* (London, Historical Association, 1990), p. 29.

Connacht, in the West of Ireland.[30] Dillon argues that it is difficult to accurately determine where people came from in light of the fact that the census rarely specifies exactly where in Ireland the Irish were from.[31]

Irish route -ways taken to Britain varied. According to Graham Davis, accessibility to the nearest port determined the three main routes. Those living in the North of Ireland moved to Scotland, people living in the central, western and eastern counties were lured to the North of England and finally people from the south and south-east travelled via South Wales, or Bristol to London.[32] Once they arrived, work opportunities and costs of moving appear to have determined where they stayed and how long for. The Irish seem very mobile, this is clear when people had a family and the birthplaces of their children are recorded in the census returns.

When they eventually settled, there is enormous debate on how well they integrated. M. A. G. O'Tuathaigh declares that a long distrust between the English and Irish people made it difficult.[33] On the other hand, Lynn Hollen Lees is adamant they preferred to associate with one another and favoured marrying fellow Irish people.[34] In a similar vein, Lewis claims the Irish formed their own community and were separated from the British by their different habits, religion and language. Since the 'natives' didn't want to mix with them, the Irish congregated together in certain streets where they mainly interacted with one another.[35] Alternatively, W. J. Lowe utters that the Irish were not isolated from the rest of the

[30] Fitzpatrick, 'A peculiar tramping people', p. 628.
[31] Dillon, 'The Irish in Leeds', p. 5.
[32] Davis, *The Irish in Britain: 1815 – 1939*, Roger Swift & Sheridan Gilley (eds) (London, Pinter Publishers Ltd, 1989), p. 52.
[33] M. A. G. O'Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century Britain – Problems of Integration', in *The Irish in the Victorian City*, Roger Swift & Sheridan Gilley, (editors) (London, Croom Helm, 1985), p. 23.
[34] Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 153.
[35] George Cornwall Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain*, Appendix G, British Parliamentary Papers, 1836, p. xiv.

population.[36] On a different note, the Catholic Church pushed for Catholics and Protestants to be kept apart. Ultimately this was done to prevent inter-faith marriages so following on from this; friendships in the workplace were discouraged. Ironically, in spite of their efforts, O'Tuathaigh observes that from the 1880s and 1890s the numbers of mixed marriages began to increase.[37] Lastly, some of the host community were unwilling to accept them. Norman McCord states that there was almost a civil war between the navvies in 1845 in view of the fact that some of the workforce was Irish.[38]

A further source of contention was the number of Irish that appeared in the law-courts. The priests did their best to offer 'spiritual guidance' but life in Britain was very different to home, consequently the morals of some Irish were affected. In addition, priests in Ireland had the upper hand of knowing their congregation from childhood.[39] Many of the migrants liked a drink and when drunk showed little respect for the police. Others became involved in brawls and preferred to fight with weapons instead of their fists. [40] These types of disagreements were generally associated with summer time (when the weather was good) as they were fought outside. Such behaviour drew the wrong sort of attention and was unpopular amongst the locals. In light of this, it is no surprise that both newspapers and the public were critical of such misconduct.

Undoubtedly, the extent of crimes committed by the Irish varied from place to place but the types of crimes didn't. There was, however, one common denominator throughout; they were usually associated with drink. Normally drinking took place at weekends which is when by and large crime occurred. All the same, this was of little comfort to the local population. Even more worryingly, their perception of the Irish was altered so much that in

[36] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 113.
[37] O'Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century', p. 23.
[38] Norman McCord, *British History 1815 – 1906 The Short Oxford History of the Modern Life* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991) p. 226.
[39] George Cornwall Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, p. xvii.
[40] Ibid., p. xx.

Stockport they were described as 'the most violent and troublesome set of people.'[41] An added source of distress was that some Irish parents reared their children to become thieves and to commit crimes.[42] Furthermore, the number of Irish that were vagrants was a worry. It would seem that perhaps this concern was unduly necessary considering in Manchester; the majority of the beggars were English.[43]

The Irish appear to have been eager to provide for themselves. As a result, they took many different jobs. Tension occurred when they were competing with the English for the same job, in particular those working in either construction or on the docks.[44] MacRaild and Martin elaborate that the Irish were 'shunned by native workers who feared for their jobs, reviled because of their Catholicism but embraced by employers looking for cheap and flexible manual labour.'[45] The main threat was their willingness to work long and hard for less pay than the English.[46] In turn, Thompson agrees that the Irish were 'cheap' to employ.[47] However, Cornewall Lewis disagrees: 'It rarely happens that when Irish are employed at the same kind of work as the native labourers, either in England or Scotland, there is any difference in the rate of wages paid to them.'[48] He does admit they were paid less when they possessed 'inferior skills' to the local workers.[49] Clearly, Lewis is suggesting that it is alright for employers to pay lower wages when workers have not got the necessary skills. Nonetheless, he is overlooking the benefits to the employer who would have economically gained from the lack of Irish expertise.

[41] George Cornwall Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, p. xxi.
[42] Ibid., p. xxii.
[43] Ibid., p. xxv.
[44] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p. 480.
[45] Donald M. MacRaild & David E. Martin, *Labour in British Society 1830 – 1914* (Houndsmill, Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000), p 82.
[46] Ibid., p. 83.
[47] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p. 473.
[48] Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, p. ix.
[49] Ibid.

Furthermore, Lewis argued the Irish didn't excel in any particular industry; they merely engaged in manual labour.[50] 'The kind of work at which they are employed is usually of the roughest, coarsest and most repulsive description, and requiring the least skill and practise'.[51] To substantiate this, he explained that many worked as labourers; in some towns were either a bricklayer or mason's labourer: [52] 'The bulk of the Irish population in Great Britain, however, consists of common labourers, who are chiefly employed in the towns, at different kinds of coarse, unskilled work'.[53]' In no part of England have they settled in the country as agricultural labourers'.[54] Aside from different types of labouring, some worked as porters in Liverpool and Glasgow, loading and unloading vessels.[55] Others kept 'spirit shops' or worked as hawkers.[56]

Following on from an earlier argument, it was not only English workers but English Catholics were also threatened by the Irish. After Catholic Emancipation had been granted in 1829, English Catholics were anxious to prove they were an 'ultra-loyal minority'.[57] The mass arrival of Irish Catholics endangered their efforts; it also displeased them that their Church became more like an 'Irish Catholic Church'.[58]The invasion of Irish meant that the Catholic Church had to expand to accommodate the considerable number of Catholic migrants. Also more schools were necessary since Catholic priests regarded the building of separate Catholic schools crucial. In their minds, their existence would not only develop children's literacy and numeracy skills but more importantly ensure that Catholic children were educated in accordance to the teachings of their faith.

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[50] Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, p. iv.
[51] Ibid., p. 429.
[52] Ibid., p. v.
[53] Ibid., p. viii.
[54] Ibid., p. ix.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid., p. viii.
[57] Mary Hickman, 'Alternative historiographies of the Irish in Britain: a critique of the segregation/assimilation model', in *The Irish in Victorian Britain*', Swift & Gilley (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999), p. 248.
[58] O' Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century', p. 24.

O'Tuathaigh maintains that Catholic schools were self-contained to allow the church to keep the community together. This fits in with the earlier suggestion of what was done to prevent inter-marriages. In other words the Catholics were isolated from their Protestant peers. 'The system of Catholic schools, the litany of social, recreational and educational societies sponsored by the Church for its Catholic children, all of these were part of a general strategy whose purpose was the creation, as far as possible, of a self-contained Catholic community.'[59] This would have been especially important in Bradford, the centre of the Orange Order where frequent anti-Catholic riots occurred; Catholics were understandably encouraged to preserve their identity via the church and separate schools.[60] Clearly, there they were away from the animosity that was rife at that time.

Were separate Catholic schools intentionally used to protect the Catholics? Did the Irish influx in the 1840s have any responsibility for them being constructed? Evidence suggests that the clergy used the schools to cater for their flock's spiritual needs and to isolate them from any unsuitable distractions, namely Protestants. However, the flood of Irish in the 1840s into Bradford has no direct bearing on the building of a Catholic school since it had been built as early as 1833 by Reverend Father P. M. Kaye.[61] Separate schools did, however, help the Irish Catholics to integrate into the English Catholic Church. 'The Catholic Church and particularly Catholic schools served not to bolster Irish distinctiveness but to incorporate the group into the host community while preserving its religious character.'[62]

It is assumed that Irish Catholics were regular churchgoers though this was not always the case. In truth, many immigrants were 'lost' to the church; priests became missionaries to entice them back and visited them in their homes where they offered them the sacraments. In

[59] O' Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century', p. 26.
[60] David James, *Bradford* (Bradford, Ryburn Publishers, 1990), p. 84.
[61] Brannigan, 'Catholicism in Bradford 1825 – 1925', p. 3.
[62] John Hutchinson & Alan O'Day, 'The Gaelic Revival in London, 1900 – 22: limits of ethnic identity', in *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension*, Swift & Gilley (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1991), p. 255.

inner-city parishes, the congregation may have been poor but even so the priests were dedicated to their spiritual needs and pushed for the building of Catholic schools. In addition, they laid down the law for parishioners by condemning mixed marriages.[63] The church not only offered spiritual guidance but was also a social outlet where they could interact with others. The priest was a key figure in their lives and was much more accessible compared to when they lived in rural Ireland and subsequently could be quickly called upon.

It must be remembered that not all Irish immigrants were Catholic. Some were Protestant and Donald MacRaild assumes that it was easier for Protestants to integrate than Catholics: 'The Protestant exodus simply does not have the shock value of the Catholic emigration of the nineteenth century, especially that of the Famine generation.'[64] Little research has been done on Protestant emigration but the availability of insufficient records makes it easier to investigate the effects of the influx of Irish Catholics.

Given that many of the jobs taken by the Irish were poorly paid, this would have restricted their options when choosing accommodation. According to the Lewis' report, they lived in the cheapest homes, 'in the lowest, dampest, dirtiest, most unhealthy, and ruinous part of the town. In Liverpool and Manchester very many of them inhabit cellars, which are frequently dark, confined, and wet.'[65] Such living conditions appear depressing and raise the question; how did Irish accommodation compare to the locals? Were they the same or different?

[63] James Obelkevich, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750 – 1950*, Vol.3, Chapter 6, 'Religion' by F. M. L. Thompson, (ed.) (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 335.
[64] MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, p. 10.
[65] George Cornwall Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, p. xi.

Of course there were poor English people, but Swift and Gilley maintain that the Irish were much worse off; their accommodation was far inferior to their English counterparts.[66] O'Tuathaigh is in agreement that the Irish lived in the worst conditions. Lewis adds that the living conditions of the Irish equated to that of the locals but at times Irish accommodation was substandard. 'Their mode of life is in general on a par with that of the poorest of the native population if not inferior to it.'[67]

The following views provided by their own priests corroborate the above. Rev. Mr. Macdonald, a Roman Catholic priest in St. Peter's chapel, Birmingham explained that the local people were not destitute but the Irish were. In his mind, the Irish were not as good at managing their money and didn't have the same aspirations to be as comfortable as the English people; instead they lived from day to day.[68] Rev. Mr Glover, another Roman Catholic priest from St. Peter's parish in Liverpool upholds Lewis' theory that the Irish lived in cellars and like Rev. MacDonald agreed that the Irish were poor money managers. 'Many who live in squalid filth in cellars are earning good wages. They generally marry early, and have large families. Their wives are generally Irish.'[69] In addition, Rev. Mr Fisher, another priest, in Liverpool, explains that it is clear from the food eaten by the two communities that there were huge differences in the way they lived. Both the English and Irish could afford to dine on meat, the English chose to do so but the Irish opted to eat potatoes and herring instead.[70] Overall, none of these descriptions are very complimentary.

Lewis though does express approval of the quality of the clothes worn by the Irish in Britain; compared to Ireland it was much better.[71] In fact, many refused to attend either

[66] Swift & Gilley, *The Irish in the Victorian City*, p. 2.
[67] George Cornwall Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, p. 429.
[68] Ibid., p. x.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., p. xii.

church or school without the appropriate clothes; quite the opposite of Ireland.[72] Unmistakably, their motivation was driven by the little detail their clothes were on public show. In contrast, it was less important what food they ate or what their home looked like bearing in mind neither was on general display.[73] In spite of his initial praise, he continues that 'even with this improvement, the Irish are usually worse clothed than the native labourers of England and Scotland receiving equal wages.'[74] Is there any evidence to substantiate this?

It is argued that in spite of an increased income (wages in mainland Britain were much higher than Ireland) the quality of life for the Irish did not really improve. Families' earnings were supplemented by the earning potential for both women and children too.[75] Any extra income the Irish had was spent on luxuries such as alcohol. A judgement has already been made that Irish women were poor money managers but when combined with their fondness for alcohol, living standards could not have improved. Not only that, but a lack of domestic skills meant the women were incapable of mending their husband's clothes and worse still were unable to make the best of the 'plain food' they bought.'[76] If this is indeed true, it would seem that Irish clothes were not of a very high standard. Without a doubt a long list of faults, however Lewis' pronounced that their fondness for drink was the worst. Both Irish men and women went to the pub. In light of this, there were much more Irish women drunks than English or Scottish.[77]

What motivated the Irish to drink? One suggestion is that since the Irish immigrants were mainly from rural Ireland, they found it difficult to adapt to urban life. By 1851 more

[72] George Cornwall Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, p. xii.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., p. ix.
[76] Ibid., p. xiii.
[77] Ibid.

than 80 per cent of them lived in towns with a population of more than 10,000.[78] Lewis agrees that the 'the Irish who migrate to Great Britain come to a considerable extent from the country, or at least from villages and small country towns.'[79]

Clearly, life in a town or city was very different to life in the countryside. The situation was aggravated even further by the fact that in their new surroundings, there was 'over-crowding, little or no sanitation, open sewers and cesspools, unhealthy diet, inadequate clothing, vagrancy, disease, alcoholism and general squalor; a high quota of unemployed paupers, or of under employed casual labourers, and a high incidence of casual violence (very often provoked by drink).[80]

In spite of all their faults, a redeeming quality of the Irish was that they were good to one another and willingly helped both wandering people and friends with food and lodging.[81] Lewis substantiates this and explained that once the Irish were established in towns or cities, they invited friends or neighbours to join them if they believed there was a need for workers at higher wages than that paid in Ireland.[82] Evidently, the welfare of their friends and family mattered to them and they did all they could to help one another. Steven Fielding agrees that friends and family often found jobs for immigrants.[83] In his mind, he shares Lees' opinion on the importance of family to the Irish and explains that the exiles helped those who remained at home and invariably funded their eventual passage to Britain.

Many Irish believed they would have a better life in Britain. A few deliberately intended to make a life in their new adopted country, either begging or relying on charity but

[78] O'Tuathaigh 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century', p. 16.
[79] Lewis, p. xvii.
[80] O'Tuathaigh, The Irish in Nineteenth Century Britain', p.16.
[81] Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, p.xxv.
[82] Ibid., p. v.
[83] Steven Fielding, *Class & Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England 1880 – 1939* (Buckingham, Open University Press, 1993), p. 25.

on the whole, this was not a general trend.[84] 'Their roaming and restless habits appear to have carried them to every place where there was any prospect of obtaining profitable employment.'[85] Some took in fellow Irish lodgers to help pay the rent which suggests that they were willing to do whatever they could to provide for themselves and were not exploiting the British.

Not everyone regarded their mobility trait as a good thing. Often, they were blamed for the spread of illnesses in Britain which were assumed to have been contracted on their journey from Ireland.[86] Since Liverpool was used merely as a stopping over point the diseases were transferred elsewhere. 'Many arrivals in Liverpool simply recuperated there before moving on to other destinations'.[87] Labelling the typhus epidemic as an 'Irish Fever' could be assumed to be prejudicial. In reality it was so called after an outbreak of the disease in Ireland from 1848 – 49. The illness commonly associated with the poor and working class quickly spread amongst relatives, friends and neighbours.[88] Anne Hardy defends the Irish and maintains that it was a combination of migration, dust and infection led to the spread of typhus, not the Irish.[89] Actually, this was not the case, it is now known that the disease is spread by lice on the human body and access to poor washing facilities magnifies the problem. The rapid rise in population in nineteenth century towns meant that housing, medical care, water supply, sewage disposal, food marketing, working and living conditions were exacerbated.[90] 'The Irish had the misfortune of to be rather over-represented at the bottom of social life but the conditions they experienced were in greater or less degree than

[84] Lewis, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, p. vi.
[85] Ibid., p. vii.
[86] Pauline E. Freeman, 'Erin's Exiles – The Irish in Leeds', in *Catholicism in Leeds – a community of faith 1794 – 1994*, Edited by Robert E. Finnigan & George T. Bradley (Leeds, Leeds Diocsean Archives, 1984), p. 73.
[87] Mary E. Daly, *The Famine in Ireland*, Historical Association of Ireland (Ireland, Dundalgan Press, 1986), p. 61.
[88] Anne Hardy, *The Victorian City: A Reader in British Urban History 1820 –1914*, Edited by R. J. Morris and Richard Rodger (London, Longman, 1993), p. 239.
[89] Ibid., p. 240.
[90] John Archer Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1963), p. 40.

those which where the common lot of the large majority of the working class of the country for much of the nineteenth century.'[91]

Naturally, the existence of a contagious disease was feared by the locals and escalated the animosity between the two communities, 'the prejudices were almost everywhere directed against 'the lowest Irish, the Irish immigrant working class.'[92] Undoubtedly the Irish encountered difficulties. James Burnley, a journalist working for the *Bradford Observer*, describes life in an Irish slum area which confirms that conditions were grim. 'I wonder how many of the well-dressed, well-fed people, who daily pass up and down Westgate, have really any experience of, or seriously consider the wretchedness, the misery, and the disease, of which the entrance to Silsbridge Lane is the threshold.' [93] Public health was a big issue at that time and in particular there was a great concern over slum conditions that were believed to be detrimental to a person's health. Jackson argues that the Irish had no control over the fact that there was a lack of air and light, taxes on windows forced many landlords to block out windows.[94] In truth, the lodgings of the Irish especially those that lived in cellars were unsuitable for human use. Cellars were damp, got waterlogged and poor sanitary conditions resulted in fevers and high mortality.[95]

This thesis will, therefore, ask a number of questions. Where did the Irish in Huddersfield come from? What route ways did they take? What jobs were taken by them once they settled? How law abiding were they? Traditionally, drink is believed to be the instigator of Irish crime but does this apply in Huddersfield? How did the two communities interact? How important was their faith to the migrants, was there a visible Irish presence in the church? Where did they live and how did their accommodation compare to English

[91] Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* , p. 42.
[92] O'Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century Britain', p.23.
[93] Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London, Penguin, 1963), p. 144.
[94] Jackson, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 44.
[95] Ibid., pps. 44 - 45.

workers? Did the Irish ghettoise in the town? What part did their arrival play in the development of Education in the town?

It will be argued that during the nineteenth century, in line with other British towns, Huddersfield witnessed an increase in their Irish population. Although historic and cultural differences contributed to anti-Irish feelings elsewhere, it was not really an issue in the town. Similarly, there was no real evidence of them clustering in a 'ghetto', lack of numbers meant that this was not applicable. All the same, they were attracted to live in certain areas of the town and were lured by the opportunities they provided. References in the census only occasionally specify where exactly the Irish came from. When this occurred, it would seem that both the census returns and St. Patrick's Church's marriage records corroborate that many Irish were drawn from the west of Ireland. All the same, there are not enough references to make an overall conclusion, instead the information available concurs with Fitzpatrick's findings that they were from Connacht. Additional information in the census returns concludes route-ways taken since wherever there were children; their places of birth illustrated this. Of course, there were some who took a very long-winded trip but for the most part the Irish would have travelled from Liverpool. Lastly, from the census it is clear that both young single adults aged between fifteen to forty years old and families re-located to the town.

It must be noted that the census was not necessarily a reliable source of information. Census enumerators merely relied on the verbal information provided to them to record the information on towns and cities. In light of this, mistakes occurred; in particular there were difficulties with the exact ages and place of birth of people. In addition, there was a deep distrust amongst the public that the information of the census would be used to check up on how many children were working that should not be. A further problem was that tenements were sub-divided houses which meant that it was too complicated to record an accurate

picture of the families that lived there.[96] Thus, the census returns are not used in isolation, instead, the parish records combined with the census information, Lodging House Committee Minutes and other minutes from the time mean that a more accurate assessment can be made on what life was really like for the Irish that lived in the town at that time.

Aside from the above, it is possible to glean further information from the descriptions in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1849 of how the living conditions of the Irish compared to that of the English worker. The wording of the said article implies that the journalist was critical of how the Irish lived. An added bonus of the paper was a written response to a previous article explaining the complicated process of building leases in the town. Locally, it is clear that Irish people were involved in crimes since the *Huddersfield Chronicle* and *Huddersfield & Holmfirth Examiner* corroborate this. On the whole, though, it is assumed that when Irish sounding names appeared in the crimes' section of the paper that they were Irish when in fact they may not have been. Apart from crime, the local papers make citations to events in Ireland.

A key motivation of the Catholic Church was to isolate their congregation from Protestants; in particular they were averse to their people marrying outside their faith. Even with the best endeavours of the Bishop for Leeds diocese (who was responsible for Huddersfield), about one-tenth of the population were in mixed marriages between Irish and English people. Of course not all of the marriages took place in the town and it is uncertain how many were actually inter-faith marriages. Even so, there were people who were inter-married thereby confirming there was integration between some of the English and Irish communities.

[96] Edward A. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited. Census Records for England and Wales, 1801 – 1901. A Handbook for Historical Researchers* (London, Institute of Historical Research, 2005).

In total contrast to this, it has been argued that English Protestants welcomed the onset of the Irish. Protestant businessmen and mill-owners even contributed to the cost of building the Catholic Church in the town. When the church was opened on 26 September 1832, many of them were present: 'One reason for this was on account of the necessity of Irish labour, and many of these men would not remain unless a place of worship was provided.'[97] Plainly, a shortage of workers prompted employers to contribute to the cost of building a church that would motivate the Irish to stay in the area. In light of their greeting, this could perhaps explain why Catholics in the town did not endure the same hostility as their counterparts in Bradford.

The crimes of the Irish were akin to that of elsewhere and often instigated by drink. Stealing, assault and being drunk and disorderly were the most common. Close examination reveals that these offences varied in seriousness. Sometimes a mere scuffle occurred but all the same it was still an assault. Similarly, an item of little value may have been stolen but the cost is immaterial. Nevertheless, the Irish do not appear to have been more lawless than the English and their punishments ranged from a fine to a stay in prison.[98]

In terms of employment, there is indeed evidence the Irish worked in 'unskilled' jobs, such as hawking and labouring. The number of hawkers varied from area to area; different sorts of labouring jobs were popular but the keeping of spirit shops or beer houses was not really prevalent. Strangely, in contrast to Bradford, factory work and formal textile work do not really seem to have been popular.[99] The efforts of the various Factory Acts meant that the earning capacity of children was limited which subsequently reduced the earning potential of families.

[97] Reverend Francis X Singleton, *Huddersfield Record of St. Patrick's 1832 – 1932 (*Huddersfield, Swindlehurst & Nicholson Printers, 1932), p. 17.
[98] *Huddersfield Examiner,* 25 October 1851 – 30 June 1855.
[99] Huddersfield Census Returns of 1851.

The Irish were instrumental in developing the Catholic Church in the town. Interestingly, it was actually an Irish priest, Fr Thomas F. Keily who was the key; 'He came to Yorkshire from Ireland in 1828 full of vigour and missionary zeal for the spread of the kingdom of God. His great efforts and sacrifices were not in vain, for within four years of his arrival the stately Catholic Church on New North Road was built, and was the first in the district since the Reformation.'[100] Prior to 1828, there were only a few Catholics in the town which meant that Fr. Keily had to go elsewhere in Britain and Ireland to raise the necessary funds to build the church. Reverend Singleton's concludes that its completion was a testimony to Fr. Keily's zeal. Before the church was built, a room in Wool Pack Yard was used to say Mass in.[101] In Bradford the use of a local inn for the same purpose was not permitted.[102] The fact that there was an increased demand for both marriages and baptisms suggests that the Irish were committed to these particular aspects of their faith.[103]

Even though, a Catholic school may not have been constructed until 1861, thirty-two years after the church, from the building of the church, lessons were held there each Sunday afternoon in reading, writing and arithmetic. [104] The needs and demands of the expanded congregation (a sizeable number were Irish) were provided for in regular weekly lessons. The clergy were progressive too as by August, 1869; both boys and girls were given the same opportunities to learn in the new school. Therefore, it may have taken time for a school to be built in Huddersfield but nonetheless the Irish did indeed instigate its building and in turn subsidised the cost of construction.

The advent of the Industrial Revolution meant that living conditions of towns and cities could not keep pace with their rapid expansion. Consequently, people were forced to

[100] Singleton, *Huddersfield Record of St. Patrick's*, p. 6.
[101] Ibid., p.16.
[102] J. B. Brannigan, *Catholicism in Bradford 1825 – 1925. Centenary of St. Mary's East Parade, Bradford – A Record of Progress* (Bradford, Lonsdale & Bartholomew Ltd. 1925), p. 1.
[103] St. Patrick's Church Catholics Registry of Marriages and Births, Huddersfield 1828 – 1860.
[104] Singleton, *Huddersfield Record of St. Patrick's*, p. 40.

live wherever they could and lodging houses were particularly widespread. Such conditions were detrimental to people's health and overcrowding exacerbated the situation even further. 'The Irish were blamed for the social ills and lived in the worst areas.'[105] In Huddersfield, various regulation committees were established to improve conditions but their efforts received a mixed reception.

In short, the Famine drove the Irish from their homes to London and the industrial towns of the North of England where they were a significant minority.[106] Fascinatingly, they made an impact on their host communities. In Huddersfield, work attracted Irish families and single people. Generally where they settled was influenced by income earned. Poverty forced them to dwell in unsuitable conditions triggered by the speed the town developed. Every effort was made by the authorities to improve conditions but for some it was inevitably too late. The advent of the Irish to the town resulted in a Catholic school being built followed in time by additional churches. Involvement in crime was habitually an issue when drunk. It is surprising the influence so few Irish had on their new surroundings.

[106] Marie McClelland, 'Catholic Education in Victorian Hull', in *The Irish in Victorian Britain – The Local Dimension* (Sheridan Gilley and Roger Swift) (Editors) (Dublin, Four Courts, 1999), p. 102.

CHAPTER 1:

LIFE FOR THE IRISH IN HUDDERSFIELD

The close proximity of Ireland to England meant that there was often a volatile relationship between the two countries. However, this aggression escalated dramatically once Ireland was colonized by the English. David Fitzpatrick believes that interaction between the Irish and English people did not truly begin until after the Act of Union.[107] He argues that it was not only the Irish who migrated to Britain but that it occurred in the opposite direction too. However, the level of migration between the two countries was not evenly balanced. 'By 1861 there were twelve times as many Irish in Britain as British in Ireland.'[108] Dillon is of the same mind and elaborates that 'the Irish have been coming to Britain for centuries, encouraged by a short crossing, a cheap passage and frequent transport. Some came on short-term visits, some to do seasonal work, and some to settle more permanently.'[109] From these explanations, it is clear that the Irish were no strangers to Britain but undoubtedly the advent of the Famine had a massive impact on the numbers of Irish that moved there. It was during this time that Britain witnessed a dramatic increase in the numbers of Irish who migrated to their country. Dillon confirms this in the following, 'the Irish have become the largest single minority group in the country.'[110] Why, then, did the Irish choose to move to Britain, in particular, why did they move to Huddersfield? Was it because Huddersfield was more welcoming than other British towns?

Push and pull factors are the geographical terms associated with why people choose to emigrate. In the instance of Ireland, even before the Famine, there were factors driving the people out of their homeland. Fitzpatrick explains that 'only a small minority were both able

[107] David Fitzpatrick, 'A peculiar tramping people: the Irish in Britain 1801 – 70', in *A New History of Ireland, Volume 5 – Ireland under the Union 1, 1801 - 70* , W. E. Vaughan, (Editor) (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 623.
[108] Ibid.
[109] T.Dillon, B.A. 'The Irish in Leeds 1851 – 1861', *The Thoresby Miscellany, Vol. 16* (Leeds, 1979), p. 1.
[110] Ibid.

and willing to spend their lives in the house or farm of their upbringing: indeed, for many generations in many regions of Ireland, the likelihood was that their working lives were conducted in another country.'[111] People were pushed out of their homes as there was a decline in domestic textiles, estates were reorganised, a subsistence crisis occurred and there was a static demand for farm labour. All of these combined with food shortages increased emigration. Emigration had become more feasible due to improvements in communication. By the 1820s, there were ferry services between Dublin and Cork to Liverpool. Increasing competition meant that fares were low and passengers paid 10d in steerage and 3d on deck.[112] As fares were so low, Britain was regarded as 'the low-cost and low-return option for Irish emigrants.'[113] Obviously, cheap fares and the availability of steam power meant that it was now easy to travel to Britain as people were no longer dependent on the use of sails which were governed by the weather. Many of the passengers travelled on deck and therefore were exposed to the elements. Aside from the weather, the journey was dangerous as ships were sometimes lost. But, in spite of these difficulties, the lure of work combined with the notion that the move was not altogether permanent; enticed people to move to Britain.

During the course of the famine, Liverpool was the main Irish port and on average it took twelve to fourteen hours to reach from Dublin. The journey was long and arduous in view of the rough sea and lack of cover on deck and 'the majority of famine refugees entering Britain through Liverpool came from the famine stricken counties of the west coast of Ireland.'[114] Fitzpatrick agrees that fares to Britain were low. He said that 'for most Connacht

[111] Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration 1801 – 70', in *A New History of Ireland, Volume 5*, p. 562.
[112] Roger Swift (ed.), *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain 1815 – 1914* (Cork, Cork University Press, 2002), p. 5.
[113] David Fitzpatrick, 'A peculiar tramping people', p. 627.
[114] Frank Neal, *Black '47: Britain and the Famine Irish* (Basingstoke, Macmillan Press, 1998), p. 55.

emigrants Dublin was the most convenient port of embarkation, while Liverpool was the closest major port to Dublin.'[115]

In Fitzpatrick's mind, where the Irish settled in the 1840s was long established before the Famine. He believes that they were inclined to settle wherever there were other Irish. A strong sense of kinship or community amongst the Irish meant that every effort was made to assist either family or former neighbours to find lodgings or jobs.[116] Lynn Hollen Lees shares the view that kinship was important to the Irish. She explains that 'links of kinship, occupation and residence drew migrants to destinations where they had a claim on someone already settled there.'[117] Fielding also concurs and explains the reason people settled near friends and family was because they helped them in their search for work. If this was so, were there already Irish in Huddersfield to assist the new influx of emigrants? Roy Brook in *The Story of Huddersfield* states that indeed there were. He said that the Irish had come to the town in large numbers after 1798. Seemingly, the reason that the Irish came in their thousands after 1800 to England was because the conditions were much better than those at home.[118] In the Huddersfield census reports it is not always clear who was related to whom and although people in the same street may have the same surname; one cannot establish for definite whether the two families were related. Instead, one can only assume that they may have been.

In spite of the Irish being mainly from a rural background, it was to towns and cities that they re-located to in both Britain and America. This was because there were more work opportunities available in towns and cities compared to the countryside. However, moving to an alien environment posed many problems. People had to adapt to living in close confines in

[115] David Fitzpatrick, 'A peculiar tramping people', p. 628.
[116] Ibid., p. 636.
[117] Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Immigrants in Victorian London* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1979), p. 44.
[118] Roy Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield* (London, MacGibbon & Kee Ltd, 1968), p. 127.

very different surroundings to that of home. This was exasperated by the fact that during the course of the Industrial Revolution, towns and cities had expanded at a tremendous pace. Swift says that it was tragic that increased awareness of the urban problems of the 1830s and 1840s occurred at the same time as increasing Irish immigration.[119] Why was this so? Were conditions bad or were they made even worse by the mass influx of emigrants fleeing the Famine?

The Famine was a national event with international repercussions. It affected all of Ireland and 'only six of the thirty-two counties lost less than 15 per cent of their population between 1841 and 1851.'[120] Six other counties lost 15 – 20 per cent of their population, 9 counties lost 20 – 25 per cent, whilst 11 lost over 25 per cent during the ten year period.[121] Donnelly does not name the counties but W. J. Lowe provides figures, not percentages, that confirm the provinces of Munster and Connacht witnessed a dramatic fall in their population. In his calculations, Munster was the most populated province in 1841 with a population of 2.4 million. Within thirty years, this had fallen to 1.4 million meaning that there was a decrease of 42 per cent. During the same time span, Connacht's population fell from 1.4 million in 1841 to 850,000 in 1871, a loss of 39 per cent.[122]

Further evidence is obtained in the *Huddersfield Chronicle* on the impact of the famine throughout Ireland. 'Census returns for Poor Law Unions have been published, which exhibit an awful diminution of the population, even in some of the best circumstanced counties of Leinster.'[123] In one Union, the 'Shillelagh Union' (which includes parts of Carlow, Wicklow and small amounts of Wexford, all on the east coast of Ireland, located in

[119] Roger Swift (ed.), *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain 1815 – 1914* (Cork, Cork University Press, 2002), p.29.
[120] James S. Donnelly Jr, 'Excess mortality and emigration', in *A New History of Ireland, Volume 5 – Ireland under the Union 1, 1801 - 70* , W. E. Vaughan, (Editor) (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 350.
[121] Ibid.
[122] W. J. Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire 1846 – 71: A Social History' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Trinity College Library, Dublin, 1974), p.11.
[123] *Huddersfield Chronicle*, Saturday, 10 January 1852, p. 6.

province of Leinster), the union extended over 110,121 acres. In 1841, the entire population was 34,435; in 1851, it was reduced to 23,878, being a decline of 10,557.[124] Elsewhere, in the province of Connacht too saw similar population changes. 'In Roscommon Union, the population in 1841, was 52,105; in 1851, 34,396, showing a decrease of 17,709.'[125] Such statistics on Roscommon are interesting as there is evidence that people came from Roscommon in the marriage records of St. Patrick's Catholic Church. In Munster, Macroom and Bantry all located in Cork both saw dramatic decreases in their population. Macroom fell from 51,388 to 37,460, whilst, Bantry fell from 27,538 to 19,680.[126]

Not all these losses were solely because of the Famine and precise figures are not available on how many people actually died. Some families were totally wiped out so therefore their deaths were not necessarily reported. Connacht according to Donnelly lost the most people, closely followed by Munster. Peter Gray agrees with Donnelly that the legacy of the famine was felt the most in the west of Ireland.[127] Aside from the deaths, 'emigration, of course, did offer the chance of escape, and that chance was seized by now fewer than 2.1 million Irish adults and children between 1845 and 1855.'[128] Noticeably, during this time, people were pushed rather than enticed from their homes. Ironically, the counties which were worse affected by the famine; similarly were also where heavy emigration occurred.[129] This suggests if Donnelly is correct that Connacht would have experienced heavy losses from both the famine and emigration. However, Lynn Hollen Lees disputes that Connacht was badly

[124] *Huddersfield Chronicle*, Saturday, 10 January 1852, p. 6.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid., Saturday, 24 January 1852, p. 6.
[127] Peter Gray, *Famine, Land & Politics: British Government and Irish Society 1843 – 50* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1999), p. 335.
[128] James S. Donnelly Jr, 'Excess mortality and emigration', p. 353.
[129] David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration 1801 – 70', p. 570.

affected by emigration. In fact, she said that it was 'only after 1900 did Connaught's share of total emigration swell markedly.'[130]

Where in Ireland did the Irish emigrants come from? Interestingly, Connacht is where many of the Yorkshire Irish originated. 'Studies of census schedules for various Yorkshire towns between 1851 and 1871 indicate disproportionately high rates of emigration from counties such as Mayo and Sligo, which together accounted for only one-sixteenth of Ireland's population in 1851. In Leeds, about one Irish settler in seven came from these counties, in Bradford over one in four, in York up to one in two.'[131] Donald MacRaild agrees that there were Irish from Connacht and states that 'The Yorkshire Irish were mainly from Connacht and Leinster, with the Leeds Irish coming especially from Dublin, Mayo and Tipperary and those in Bradford from Queen's Mayo, Sligo and Dublin'.[132]

However, Dillon argues that, only 7 per cent of the Irish-born in Leeds can be traced back to the town or county of birth since that information was generally omitted by the enumerator. When it was recorded, the evidence suggests that immigrants from all over Ireland lived in Leeds; the majority however were from Dublin and Western counties.[133] In reality, such small percentages make it impossible to say where indeed the Irish came from.

What happened in Huddersfield? Is there clear evidence to prove where the Irish were from? As found by Dillon in the case of Leeds, census returns generally only mention the country of birth and overlook the county of birth. 'Evidence giving precisely the town or county from which the immigrants came is scanty.'[134] There are some references within the census of Huddersfield, as in Leeds that confirm where exactly some Irish people came from.

[130] Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 40.
[131] David Fitzpatrick, 'A peculiar tramping people', p. 628.
[132] Donald MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain* (Basingstoke & London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), p. 67
[133] Dillon, 'The Irish in Leeds', p. 5.
[134] Ibid., p. 5.

In Denton Lane, in Town Centre North, Mary Carroll was listed as from Galway[135] and John and Lily Flynn in Castlegate were from County Mayo.[136] Again in Castlegate there were the McLeod family who were all from Dublin.[137] MaryAnn Morgan in Castlegate was also from Dublin.[138] In Chadwick Fold, in the same area the Hayley family were from Sligo.[139] On Cross Church Street, there was a servant Maria Eastwood who was from Dublin.[140] In Kirkgate, there were the Hogans and all four of them were from Dublin.[141] In Peel's Yard, there were the McCarricks who were from Sligo.[142] In Post Office Yard, there was a Thomas Dempsey who was from Mayo.[143] All these examples seem to support MacRaild's views on the origins of the Yorkshire Irish.

Even so, such references are only a small sample of the Irish population. It is impossible to say based on this information categorically that the Irish in Huddersfield were either from Leinster or Connacht. However, there is some additional proof in the marriage records of St. Patrick's that the Irish were from Connacht. (see Table 1.1 p. 37) Admittedly, the records do not state where the couple themselves came from but they do specify their parents' names and place of residence. It is possible to deduce from the records of the 1840s, that the most popular places of origin were Roscommon, Mayo and Galway which of course are in Connacht. From 1850, the marriage records were not as exact. Since the parents were mainly dead, they were merely recorded as R.I.P. Undoubtedly, there were exceptions and there were references to people being from Galway and Roscommon with some additional

[135] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield 1851, Town Centre North. HO 107/2295 - RO 273/11/01. (Note: second set of numbers are the folio number, enumeration district and schedule number).
[136] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 256/11/11.
[137] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 257/11/17.
[138] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 255/11/6.
[139] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 291/12/32.
[140] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 295/12/48.
[141] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 280/11/145.
[142] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 290/12/22.
[143] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 263/11/55.

people from Meath; which offer further proof that MacRaild was correct since Galway and Roscommon are in Connacht and Meath is in Leinster.

Table 1.1 Parents' Place of Residence[144]

Date of marriage	Persons married	Place of Residence	Parents	Parents' place of residence	Witnesses	Witnesses Place of residence
19 January 1841	Patrick Willis Margaret McDonough	Hudd	Michael Willis James O'Neill	Co. Sligo Co. Carlow	Laurence & Mary Cummins[145]	Hudd
13 September 1841	Patrick Hannon Mary Dollard	Hudd	Edward Hannon Martin Dollard	Roscommon Co. Kilkenny	Patrick Grayley Mary Hogan	Hudd
23 January 1842	William Hearne Bridget Griffin	Hudd	John Hearne John Griffin	Co. Sligo Co. Mayo	George Fullard Catherine Duffy	Hudd
2 May 1842	James Steel Catherine Burns	Hudd	Joseph & Ann James & Mary Burns	Dungannon Hudd	Bridget Burn[146]	Hudd
25 October 1842	Thomas Costello Winifred Drury	Hudd	Patrick & Mary Patrick & Bridget	Co. Sligo (Dead) Roscommon (Dead)	James Costello Mary May	Hudd
13 November 1842	John Ward[147] Bridget Curry	Hudd	John & Julia Brian & Margaret	Co. Galway Co. Galway	Patrick Niland[148] Maria O'Connor	Hudd
28 February 1843	Martin White Mary Carroll	Hudd	James White Michael Carroll	Co. Galway Roscommon	George & Mary Liversage	Hudd
11 March 1843	Martin Higgins Hannah Wilkinson	Hudd	John & Bridget George & Mary	Co. Galway Hasland (possibly)	James Earles Ellen Garthwaite	Hudd

[144] St. Patrick's Church Catholic Registry of Marriages, Huddersfield 1828 – 1860.
[145] Possibly Mary, 39 year old widow fromTown Centre South-East, mother of five children.
[146] Possibly 40 year old with 6 children, Town Centre South-West
[147] Possibly widower 32 years old with 2 children, Town Centre Vol. D.
[148] Patrick 46 year old Hawker, Boulder's Yard, Town Centre North.

From Table 1.1 and as previously mentioned the occasional references in the census, there were some parallels in where people were from. The examples do indeed suggest that the Irish people moved from the West, Midlands and East of Ireland to Huddersfield.

In other areas in the town, again the name of where exactly in Ireland the Irish person comes from is rarely recorded. In Birkby for example, of the seventeen families detailed, only two families in fact name the place in Ireland where they were from.[149] There were the Parsons from Bradford Road and the Mosley family of Clough. John Parson was from Belfast and was thirty-five years old and was married to a local woman Mary who was twenty-six.[150] Lydia Mosley was a twenty-six year old from Dublin. She was married to Thomas another local from Huddersfield. Since Thomas was an agricultural labourer, this conveys that the English and Irish took similar jobs.[151] From these two examples, it is apparent that yes Mary was from Leinster but since John was from Ulster, a general rule cannot be applied that indeed all the Irish in Huddersfield were from specific locations.

A series of articles were written in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1849 – 1851 which investigated the conditions of the Labour Poor in Britain. These critiques are useful as they show how the ordinary people lived and demonstrate that the journalists reporting on the North of England were very critical of how the Irish lived. In the feature written on Huddersfield, it explained that there were more than 108,000 inhabitants living within the township.[152] Huddersfield was described as the minor capital of the broad and fancy cloth work. Leeds was the metropolis within the county, but Huddersfield was responsible for the vast majority of the cloth working. Much of the fine textured work was spun, woven and finished in the area. In the town itself, people were mainly engaged in the manufacture of

[149] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield 1851, HO 107/2395.
[150] Ibid., HO 107/2395 - RO 722/28/19.
[151] Ibid., HO 107/2395 - RO 728/28/65.
[152] Jules Ginswick, *Labour and the poor in England and Wales 1849 – 51,Volume 1* (London, Frank Cass, 1983), p. 154.

wool but in random places, cotton, silk spinning and weaving occurred. Woollen manufacture tended to be mainly done in the mills so that employers could easily supervise their workers. Some weaving was done in nearby houses but employers had little faith that the workers would adhere to deadlines. Workers at home complained that they had to make frequent trips to the mills or warehouses to collect the necessary yarn for spinning or weaving. From this it is easy to deduce that accessibility reasons meant that the work at home could only be done by people living within half a dozen miles of the mills.

The *Morning Chronicle* classed the financial position of the workers as 'fairly situated.' However, the reporter then interviewed some locals who said that there were problems with high prices since 1846 which meant that families with young children too young to work struggled to feed them all.[153] The policy in the town was that no children were employed in the mills until there were over thirteen years of age.[154] Therefore, the regulations of the various Factory Acts intended to protect the workers were being adhered to in the town itself. Elsewhere, this was not the case. In the previous issue of the paper, the study was on Saddleworth, (which is within the local proximity of Huddersfield); here there is a reference made to boys as young as 12 years of age working in Upper Mill.[155]

In some families, it was necessary to send the children to work at a very young age. W. C. Darwell in his thesis on 'A History of Elementary Education in Huddersfield from 1780 – 1902' said that the Factory Act, which limited children's working hours to ten hours was introduced by the government in 1853. The minimum age for employment was aged

[153] *Morning Chronicle*, Monday, 3 December 1849, 'Labour and the Poor – The Manufacturing Districts, The Cloth Districts of Yorkshire. The Huddersfield Fancy Goods and the Dewsbury 'Shoddy Mills – Letter XIV.
[154] This view by the correspondent of the paper seems strange in view of Richard Oastler's efforts in Huddersfield with the short time committees to improve the situation of factory children. The journalist may be referring to local practice in Huddersfield or this could be all talk. The reality may have been that children were working in small factories that were not compelled by their size to comply with the Factory Acts.
[155] *Morning Chronicle*, Thursday, 29 November 1849, 'Labour and the Poor – The Manufacturing Districts, The Rural Cloth Workers of Yorkshire – Saddleworth, Letter XIII.

eight and was not raised until 1874 when it became ten.[156] The government had been working hard on introducing various legislations intended to protect the workers but were greeted with a mixed reception from both the employers and workers.

It is clear from the description given in the *Chronicle* that the correspondent was very negative of the streets where the Irish lived. It described them as 'uncleansed alleys and fever-smelling cul-de-sacs in the higher parts of the town.'[157] It then proceeded to depict the conditions within a former lodging house within the Irish area. The reporter explained that 'an old woman, two daughters and a tolerable numerous array of grandchildren,'[158] were living in two rooms. He continued to describe what the rooms were like. In the corner of the main room, it was clear that this was where the old woman slept in a flock bed and there was indication that she used a dirty rug to cover her. The room was full of odd furniture and there was evidence of broken crockery on the table. The floor was reputed to be filthy.

When it was a lodging house, the old woman had slept in the cellar which, also was investigated by the correspondent and described as 'lightless and airless'. The smell in the cellar showed that it was in addition used as a cesspool. It was here that the family kept their drinking water. The bedroom which was located above the kitchen measured about 16 feet by 12 feet. It contained two bed-frames which were again covered in brown rugs. This room when used as a lodging house housed up to twenty people who slept on rags on the floor. The journalist tried to talk to the woman to find out about her job as a rag-collector but received little information. He detected that she was very bitter that she was no longer allowed to keep lodgers.[159]

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[156] W. C. Darwell, 'A History of Elementary Education in Huddersfield from 1780 – 1902' (Thesis for Degree in M. Education, May, 1951), p. 107.
[157] *Morning Chronicle*, Monday, 3 December 1849, 'Labour and the Poor – The Manufacturing Districts, The Cloth Districts of Yorkshire. The Huddersfield Fancy Goods and the Dewsbury 'Shoddy Mills – Letter XIV.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.

The piece of writing continues to describe what the Irish were like in the town. 'There are a considerable number of 'low Irish' in Huddersfield, but the effect of the sanitary reform measures in process of being carried out is to drive them forth from the borough, into the adjacent townships, where they cannot be hindered from pigging together on the floors of garrets and cellars by dozens and scores.'[160] The intention of the Sanitary Act of Huddersfield was that it was would control how many people lived in a lodging house. Following on from its implementation, the journalist observed that there was a fall in the number of Irish people living in the area.[161] It is possible to deduce from this piece of writing that it was believed that the Irish people were unwilling to accept the improvements made by the authorities to better conditions in the town centre. Instead, they chose to relocate elsewhere where they could live as they pleased.

The article provides additional information on the town itself which as previously mentioned belonged to a gentleman by the name of Sir John Ramsden. Sir Ramsden was lord of the manor, and owned all the land both in and near the town, with the exception of a very small portion that belonged to another person.[162] At that time, in Huddersfield, it was reported that no building leases were granted which meant that the people were 'tenants at will' providing them with little security since they could be thrown out at any point. Huddersfield had sprung up over the last sixty years and was described as not well built.[163] This could suggest that the circumstances the Irish people lived in were determined by the fact that the town expanded at such a rapid rate rather than them that they were relegated to certain areas and housing. However, the evidence provided by the *Morning Chronicle* suggests that the Irish chose to live in poor conditions; and were not inclined to accept any improvements made by the authorities.

[160] Jules Ginswick, *Labour and the poor*, p. 157.
[161] Ibid.
[162] www.oldtowns.co.uk/yorkshire/huddersfield.html
[163] Ginswick, *Labour and the poor*, p. 157.

The tone of the writing suggests that the correspondent had little sympathy with the Irish. The adjectives used in the descriptions of where and how the Irish lived are always derogatory. For example, the following sentence generates images of a truly undesirable location; but at the same time praised the efforts made by the local authorities to improve things; 'in one of the courts of one of the Irish quarters – a place by the way, reeking with abominations but which the authorities are energetically improving.'[164] Dillon explains that such editorials were not unusual and that newspapers tended to present the Irish in a negative manner and to report their worst features.[165]

Yet, the same reporter was very different when describing the circumstances that an English family lived in. This particular family were the only English people to live in what was otherwise an Irish court. Their home, which they had lived in for thirty years, was poor 'but notably clean.' The family were described as having always paid their way. In the house, there were 5 people living in it, a grandfather, grandmother, daughter, her husband and infant child. The grandfather had worked in the mills all his life. However, now he was deemed by employers to be too old despite all his best efforts to secure employment throughout the area. In consequence, the whole family were dependent on the wages earned by the son-in-law. This was a source of great embarrassment to the elderly man. As soon as the infant could be left with its grandmother, the daughter intended to go working in the mills. In the columnist's final summary of the English family, it is again clear what his attitude to the Irish was. 'The contrast between this poor family and their lazy Irish neighbours was very striking and very painful.'[166]

In response to this letter, on the 11 December 1849, Joshua Hobson, the Clerk to the Board of works under Huddersfield Improvement Commissioners wrote to clear up a few

[164] *Morning Chronicle*, Monday, 3 December 1849.
[165] Dillon, 'The Irish in Leeds', p. 1.
[166] *Morning Chronicle*, Monday, 3 December 1849.

points. He explained that Sir John William Ramsden was a minor and the son of Charles Ramsden, Esq, once M. P. for Yorkshire. The estates of the young gentleman were run by two trustees – Earl Fitzwilliam and Earl Zetland; and his guardian – Lady Ramsden.

He elaborated on the reference that 'no building leases are granted'. Hobson could understand why this misunderstanding occurred and made clear that 'In Huddersfield, building leases, or leases of plots of ground with which the leasee can do almost as they please, are granted; and such leases are, in fact, leases in perpetuity: not leases as in London, for terms certain, and then all the building erected falling into the hands of the owner; but leases for sixty years, renewable every twenty years, on a fine certain, the fine being one year's rent.'[167] One –third of the town was held in such leases; while the remaining two-thirds had dwellings that were built on ground held 'at will' with a small annual ground rent paid twice a year. The only security the people had for their building was the good faith of the owners, but even so, the buildings were regularly bought, sold, bequeathed and mortgaged.

In his mind, there was no other town of equal size whose workers owned as many dwellings as in Huddersfield. How was this possible? He clarified that people didn't have to buy the land so that expense was saved. Ground Rent was easy to pay and people could proudly say they owned their own dwelling. In the town, building and money clubs flourished whereby the workers paid in and within time could redeem their share. This was like a form of modern day mortgage. The only deed that existed was the name on the rent roll of the ground landlord. In spite of the article's claims, it is highly unlikely that the Irish owned their own property. On the whole, they had low paying jobs which would have made it impossible for them to buy property. The census returns confirm that the Irish were in the main either lodgers or visitors.

[167] *Morning Chronicle*, 11 December 1849.

Hobson felt that the reference to the town not being 'well-built' was not totally accurate. He said that many of the buildings were made from local stone and that the materials and labour were of superior quality. In addition, the stone buildings were different to the brick built buildings in Manchester, Leeds or London. He did admit that the arrangement of the town, courts and alleys were poor and had the same aspirations as the correspondent from the *Chronicle*, that the planned extension to the town would be far better. He finished the article by complimenting the paper on their study of the conditions of the Labour and Poor.[168]

Even though there is a mention of an Irish quarter in the *Morning Chronicle*, the Irish in Huddersfield do not appear to have been confined to certain locations. Admittedly, there were not that many Irish living within the town; 1509 Irish people were recorded to be living in the township in the 1851 census.[169] This merely represented 5 per cent of the total population. From this, it is clear that the Irish were in a minority. This was not solely a Huddersfield phenomenon. Clem Richardson states that the Irish were the largest ethnic group and minority in nineteenth century Bradford. 'In 1851 they number 9,581 of the Bradford Parish population and 26% of the Irish born population of West Riding of Yorkshire.'[170] Even so, although there were more Irish in Bradford compared to Huddersfield, they still only accounted for 9 per cent of the total population. This is further demonstrated, in Table 1.2, (see p. 45). Between 1851 and 1861, both Leeds and Sheffield increased their Irish population, whilst Halifax, Huddersfield and Bradford decreased theirs. Admittedly, there was not much of a reduction in Halifax and Huddersfield, but all the same, the number of first born Irish had condensed.

[168] *Morning Chronicle*, 11 December 1849.
[169] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851. – In my investigation of the census returns the total number of Irish was based on the main townships. It was discovered that there were Irish living in the Town Centre South-East, Town Centre North and Town Centre South-West, Kirburton, Lindley, Linthwatire, Greenhead/Springwood, Londgroyd, Lockwood and Lepton.
[170] Clem Richardson, *Geography of Bradford* (Bradford, University of Bradford, 1976), p. 95.

Table 1.2: Birthplaces of the inhabitants of the principal towns in the West Riding in 1851 and 1861.[171]

Borough	Total Inhabitants		Total Irish-born	
	1851	**1861**	**1851**	**1861**
Bradford	103,778	106,218	9,279	6,176
Halifax	33,582	37,014	2,088	2,062
Huddersfield	30,880	34,877	1,562	1,367
Leeds	172,270	207,165	8,466	10,333
Sheffield	135,310	185,172	4,477	6,134

It would be therefore difficult for a ghetto to form since there were so few Irish. However, Richardson maintains that because the Irish were not welcome in certain areas of Bradford, this resulted in them being clustered together and forming a ghetto. Michael Nolan upholds in 'The Irish in Huddersfield 1831 – 1871' that the numbers of Irish in the town of Huddersfield were too few to form a ghetto.[172] Nolan based this assumption using the figures provided in Table 1.3, (see p. 46). In contrast, to Table 1.2, it covers a longer time span. There appears to have been discrepancy in the information recorded on the rate of Irish immigration to the town in 1851. In my investigation of the census returns in Huddersfield in 1851, there were 1509 Irish; Nolan said that there were 1957 Irish, whilst Dillon said there were 1,562 Irish. It is possible that the figures provided by Nolan are for a wider area, but there is only a slight difference between Dillon and my findings; be that as it may, the Irish represented a small portion of the total population.

[171] T. Dillon, 'The Irish in Leeds', p. 2 (Using evidence from the Census Returns)
[172] Michael Nolan, 'The Irish in Huddersfield 1831 – 1871' (unpublished B. A. Dissertation, University of Huddersfield, Dec. 1975), p.5.

Table 1.3: Numbers of Irish in Huddersfield[173]

1851	1957	**1871**	1382	**1891**	1131
1861	1367	**1881**	1244	**1901**	799

In view of their low numbers, what sort of impact if any, did the Irish have on the area? The Irish were mainly involved in manual work or buying and selling and Nolan saw this as an Irish trend. The evidence of the census returns in Huddersfield concurs with this viewpoint. Many of the Irish were hawkers and Brook believed that the hawking of goods would be something that was easy for the Irish to do and would need little or no training. A full investigation on what the Irish worked at will be explored in Chapter 4.

According to Roy Brook, the Irish lived in all parts of the town. This pattern contradicts Engels and Fieldings' views on ghettoisation. The term ghettoisation was first used by Engels when he described Manchester. 'This term is meant to suggest that the Irish were economically and socially separated from the rest of the city: in other words that they lived a life apart.'[174] Yet this may not have been because of racial intolerance and Steven Fielding adds that the Irish were perhaps in ghettos not due to their nationality or religion but because they were poor and could not afford anywhere else. Fitzpatrick shares Fielding's views. He said that 'within their favoured urban settlements, however the Irish seldom form or inhabited 'ghettos', except perhaps in the immediate aftermath of the famine exodus. They

[173]Michael Nolan, 'The Irish in Huddersfield 1831 – 1871', p. 5.
[174] Steven Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England 1880 – 1939* (Buckingham, Open University Press, 1993), p. 27.

tended to reside in low-quality housing in central rather than peripheral zones, and to share rough working-class neighbourhoods with others of similar occupations.'[175]

W. J. Lowe argues that in a small town like Widnes which would have been similar in size to Huddersfield, that the Irish always lived close to one another. Some did this to be near their family. The most important reason that Lowe found was that the people both wanted to and needed to live in affordable housing.[176] In his mind, it was affordable housing that was the decisive factor in determining where the Irish settled. 'Lodgings in Irish households, besides being an added source of income for those already living in Lancashire, were an important source of inexpensive accommodation for new arrivals from Ireland and those immigrants living in Lancashire without families.'[177] He continues to explain that 'economic imperatives caused the Irish to move to the areas which became identified as Irish neighbourhoods, and these restraints preceded any positive inclination of the Irish to group together.'[178] From this, it would seem clear that there was not a deliberate attempt by the Irish to ghettoise together. Instead, it was circumstances namely lack of money that forced them to congregate together in areas. Henry Mayhew agreed that this too happened in London. 'In almost all of the poorer districts of London are to be found 'nests of Irish' – as they are called – or courts inhabited solely by the Irish'.[179]

If this was the case and ghettoisation didn't occur, was there much interaction between the English and Irish people? Both, Henry Mayhew and Lynn Hollen Lees argue that the Irish in London remained separate from their neighbours. Lees explained that 'they lived

[175] David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration 1801 – 70', pps. 569 – 670
[176] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 113.
[177] Ibid., p.116.
[178] Ibid., p.110.
[179] Henry Mayhew, *London, Labour and the London Poor – Selections made and introduced by Victor Neuburg* (London, Penguin Books, 1985), p.56.

close to the English, but they remained apart'.[180] Similarly, Mayhew continued that theme in his description of the Irish, 'these people form separate colonies, rarely visiting or mingling with the English.'[181] This suggests that there was segregation by choice by the Irish. They chose in Victorian London to form separate communities of Irish people.

What happened elsewhere? Lowe argues that in Lancashire, 'it does not appear that the Irish tried to seal themselves off from the rest of the population'.[182] He doesn't believe that one can use the word ghetto in relation to Lancashire. As highlighted earlier, cost was the determining factor of where people settled but this was closely followed by a social attachment need that people had to live near other Irish people.[183] Fitzpatrick again highlights that the Irish were to be found in the poor areas of the towns and cities. The impression given is that poverty forced people to live in inadequate housing. He too like Lowe believes that ghettos did not exist. 'Though Irish ghettos developed virtually nowhere in Britain, the settlers were clustered in the most congested and decaying districts of most British towns, among which they moved with startling rapidity from one insalubrious lodging to another.'[184] This portrays an image of a mobile population. In reality, short distance migration and emigration were traits of the Irish.[185] In Leeds, Dillon explained that the Irish were not attached to homes and moved when necessary for a variety of reasons. 'Their lack of attachment to a particular dwelling allowed them to pick up and set roots at will; they were prepared to move to be nearer work; to find cheaper or more convenient accommodation, to get closer to a friend.'[186]

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[180] Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Immigrants in Victorian London* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1979), p. 63.
[181] Henry Mayhew, *London, Labour*, p. 56.
[182] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 113.
[183] Ibid., p. 114.
[184] David Fitzpatrick, 'The Irish in Britain 1871 – 1921', in *A new History of Ireland – Ireland under the Union II, 1870 – 1921, Volume VI*, Vaughan, W. E. (editior) (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 653.
[185] T. Dillon, B.A. 'The Irish in Leeds 1851 – 1861', *The Thoresby Miscellany, Vol. 16* (Leeds, 1979), p.10.
[186] Ibid.

Louise Miskell in her study of Tredegar in Cornwall during the period 1861 – 1891 could find no evidence that the Irish were separated from the host community. She added that in nearby Camborne during the same period of time that even where there were lots of Irish people, the Irish lived close to the local inhabitants.[187] Here again seems another place where ghettoisation did not occur.

Colin Pooley finds a slightly different story in Liverpool. He too found that economic factors forced the Irish into certain parts of the city. However, in addition he discovered that social reasons were a contributory motive too.[188] The Irish dominated the most overcrowded areas of the city and the non-Irish seemed to avoid entering these areas.[189] He continues to explain that 'the Irishman's extreme poverty forced him into the slums and his rural background and lack of urban experience made assimilation difficult.'[190] Pooley believes that a community spirit developed amongst the Irish people because they were enduring the same deprivations.[191] Perhaps, this is a form of social attachment, whereby the people were bonded together by their shared experiences and background.

In *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain 1815 – 1914*, Roger Swift agrees that most urban towns and cities had substantial Irish communities during the nineteenth century. It continues that the Irish tended to cluster together again for financial reasons. People were influenced by the quest for cheap housing and lodging houses, family and kinship networks were again important. Some other motives were given, such as the need to be near to work and lastly the development of Irish social, cultural and religious organisations were considered to be an

[187] Louise Miskell, 'Custom, Conflict & Community: A Study of the Irish in South Wales and Cornwall 1861 – 1891' (unpublished thesis for degree of Philosophy, University of Wales, 1996), p. 257.
[188] Colin Gilbert Pooley,' Migration, Mobility & Residential Areas in Nineteenth Century Liverpool' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Liverpool, Dec. 1978), p. 310.
[189] Ibid., pps. 255 & 275.
[190] Ibid., p. 347.
[191] Ibid.

influence too.[192] It carries on and explains that the Irish didn't congregate in ghettoes to the exclusion of other ethnic groups.[193] It says the same happened in Liverpool, Blackburn and Bolton which were all areas popular with the Irish. They were seldom shut off from the native population. 'In short, the poor Irish lived among the English poor.'[194] From this, it is clear that the Irish population except for the odd exception as in Bradford did not indeed remain isolated from the English people. Even though there were 'little Irelands' in many towns, people still moved within their own town or moved to other towns where work could be found. Economic considerations were once again the decisive factors on where the Irish settled. Even so, the Irish were not residentially segregated.[195]

It has already been established that the Irish in Huddersfield were very mobile. The following information (see Table 1.4 Migratory Patterns to Huddersfield p. 287) drawn from the census returns visibly confirms that for many of them, Huddersfield was not their first destination point. Some of them moved around Britain a lot before eventually settling in the town judging by where their children were born. Others travelled great distances and took unusual routes to reach the town. It was not only an Irish trait to move around, both English and Irish families moved about. It is highly likely that the Irish moved constantly owing to their need for money and worked in areas until they could afford to travel on.

Graham Davis attempts to explain that there were three main emigrant routes from Ireland to England; his explanation does not say how exactly they got to the North of England. However, it has already been clarified that Liverpool was the main port in the North of England and from there the Irish resettled. Even so, Davis' theory is useful as it adds substance to the earlier discussion on where exactly did the Irish come from. He too

[192] Roger Swift (ed.), *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain 1815 – 1914* (Cork, Cork University Press, 2002), p. 30.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid., p. 31.

believes that the Irish in the North of England and the Midlands came from Connacht and Leinster. In addition, he elaborates that the Irish from the counties of Ulster and North Connacht went to Scotland. People from the South of Leinster and Munster areas often travelled via South Wales or Bristol to London.[196] Louise Miskell in her study of Cornwall found evidence to corroborate that the Irish in that area did indeed come from Munster. Clearly, the Irish in Huddersfield varied the route ways they took to reach the town.

Some of the Irish continued to move about when they eventually reached Huddersfield. Others on the other hand preferred to settle in one spot and stay there. In some areas, there were clusters of very poor Irish who were relatively immobile and were confined to streets and courts in 'little Irelands'.[197] Comparisons made from the 1851 and 1861 in Leeds convey that some Irish remained in the same houses whilst others didn't. Invariably, people didn't move far and tended to stay within the same area or even within the same street.[198] In the main, the Irish lived together because of either financial reasons or because people wanted to have that support from fellow Irish family or people who shared a common culture. There does not appear to have been a deliberate attempt to isolate the Irish from the locals but of course there were areas such as London where the Irish themselves chose to remain separate from the English.

It has already been mentioned that life in urban Britain was very different for the Irish. Lynn Hollen Lees explains that one of the difficulties experienced was communication problems. 'Such people seemingly had few resources to ease the transition from rural to urban life. Many spoke only Irish or imperfect English.'[199] Roger Swift agrees that many of

[196] Davis, *The Irish in Britain* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1991), p. 52.
[197] Roger Swift, (editor), *Irish Migrants*, p. 31.
[198] Dillon, 'The Irish in Leeds', p. 10.
[199] Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Immigrants in Victorian London* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1979), p. 16.

the emigrants were largely Catholic and Gaelic speaking who were driven from Ireland.[200] Understandably, when a language barrier existed, it would have been more difficult for the emigrants to adapt to their new surroundings and here again could be another motivator on why the Irish chose to live close by to one another. Dillon agrees, 'the Irish undoubtedly felt more at ease and more secure in surroundings and among people they understood. The problems of language, of religious practice and of behaviour were eased in a community dominated by Irishmen.'[201]

In Huddersfield, the Irish were in a minority so a ghetto could not exist. Certain areas did have more Irish than others but this was more so because there was more work opportunities available there rather than a deliberate attempt by the Irish to ghettoise. As one would expect, there were less Irish in the outlying areas than in the town centre. The census returns of Huddersfield in 1851 confirm that there were 262 Irish born in the Greenhead, Springwood and Highfield areas who in turn had 159 relatives who were English. The majority of these were children born in Huddersfield but there was a small percentage of inter-marriage between the Irish and English people in this area in 1851. In Kirkburton, there were only 18 Irish born who had sixteen English born relatives. Lockwood had 53 Irish born and 36 English born relatives. Linthwaite had 21 Irish born and 9 English born relatives. Lindley had 19 Irish born people and 14 English born relatives. As one would expect the Town Centre North in contrast had a far higher proportion but undoubtedly this was because there were more Irish attracted to the town centre. There were 342 Irish born people who had 145 English born relatives. People understandably flocked to the areas where they could get work.[202] Once work was found, people would have settled where there were other Irish people for either kinship or for financial reasons. Many of the people in the town centre were

[200] Roger Swift, (editor), *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain 1815 – 1914,* p. 6.
[201] Dillon,'The Irish in Leeds', pps.8 – 9.
[202] Huddersfield Census Returns, 1851.

recorded as lodgers in the census returns which indicates that people lived together to save money which appears to have been a common trait for the Irish in Britain.

John Benson believes that the Irish developed their own form of 'community adherence'[203], which suggests that the Irish cooperated and congregated together. However, in the Huddersfield area, the Irish did not merely live together. Instead, they lived amongst their English neighbours which meant that generally they were not simply clustered together. Instead, there was normally a mixture of English and Irish residents living in an area. Alan O'Day reaffirms that the general impression was that the Irish lived in clusters, which is evident at times in the Huddersfield census reports. In Castlegate, there were sixteen different listings of Irish people living in the street, of those there were only two single people listed, the others were either a married couple or families. [204] The Irish seem to have favoured the areas close to the town centre. For example in Huddersfield Town Centre North in Boulder's Yard, there were twenty-four different Irish surnames listed living in the yard.[205] A number of them were labourers whilst others were hawkers, which is a profession that would be carried out within the town centre. People presumably lived near the town centre so that they could walk to work, but also because of the cheap slum accommodation that was available. The Irish were not alone in this tendency, many other nationalities have clustered close to the town centre and this is very apparent in modern society with the numbers of Asian people who live close to town centres such as Dewsbury and Batley.

As in Huddersfield; similar patterns occurred in Leeds whereby the Irish settled close to the town centre in Kirkgate and the Bank areas and two churches were built to cater for the growing Irish population. In 1831 St. Patrick's was built on the outskirts of the city and a further church in 1857, Mount St Mary's was built in East Leeds to cater for the number of

[203] J. Benson, *The Working Class in Britain* (London, Longman, 1989), p. 131.
[204] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre North – Castlegate, HO – 107/2295.
[205] Ibid., – Boulder's Yard, HO 107/2295.

Irish immigrants in Leeds.[206] In Bradford, similarly, the Irish preferred to live in the town centre. They lived in an area known as 'the Leys' and in 1850 the Bishop of Yorkshire, Bishop Briggs ordered Thomas Canon Harrison 'to establish a new parish on the west side of the town to serve the latest influx of Catholic Irish.'[207]

Richardson interestingly argues that the largest number of Irish in Bradford came in the ten years prior to the Famine. He continues that they were mainly from the west of Ireland, but does not specify which counties they were from. He said that there were so many Irish in Stott Hill that they began to build a church; St. Mary's to cater for the needs of the population. He also suggests that 22 per cent of the household of Irish had two or more families in 1851 but that this had decreased to 14 per cent in 1861. The Irish were packed together in the cheapest houses and were low paid. Understandably as Richardson explains mortality rates were higher in such cramped conditions.

Richardson too maintains that the Irish lived in the worst areas where there was the most squalor. He said that the authorities paid little heed to sewage disposal in their area.[208] A large number of Irish people lived in cellars which made the rent cheaper, which is further proof that price was a determining factor of where the Irish lived. In Huddersfield, the numbers of Irish living in a house does not on the whole appear unusually significant. Families were not excessively large; which resulted in on average four or five people living in a dwelling. Richardson's suggestion that one quarter of the Irish were lodgers in Bradford applies to Huddersfield too. In Town Centre South-West, there were fifty-seven listings of

[206] Derek Fraser (ed.), *A History of Modern Leeds (*Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1980), p. 61 & 245.
[207] P. Grogan, *St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church Bradford. A History of the Paris* (Sussex, Service Publications Ltd, 1975), p. 6.
[208] Richardson, *Geography of Bradford*, p. 96

Irish people in Jowitt Square; thirty of these were lodgers which is more than half of the families.[209]

Although the Irish population size in Huddersfield in itself was low, it does not consider the additions the Irish had to their families after they settled in Britain. David Fitzpatrick outlines that 'most emigrants left alone' and that emigration was considered part of the rural lifecycles and usually happened before marriage. [210] Understandably, once people settled in Britain, they married and had children. W. J. Lowe agrees and said that one really does not get a real sense of an Irish community unless one takes into account those children born in England of Irish parents. He continues that 'it is very difficult to state the true size of an Irish community with any precision because the definition of an Irish community is very subjective and arbitrary.'[211] In Huddersfield, it is clear from the statistics given in the census returns that the Irish community did indeed expand. In addition, a point to note is that, since many of the people were young and single at the time of the 1851 census, they had yet to settle down to have a family.

Dillon explains that the term Irish includes Irish-born, children of at least one Irish parent, second generation Irish whose names or the fact that there were living in an Irish house could be seen as to proof that they were the offspring of an immigrant.[212] Louise Miskell agrees; she adds that difficulties arose in the 1880s and 1890s when studying the Irish; it was impossible to ascertain the full size of an Irish community as much of the population were no longer first generation Irish. This time span would tie in with that Lynn Hollen Lees gives. She said that 'emigration reached its peak during and immediately after

[209] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre South-West – Jowitt Square, HO 107/2295.
[210] David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration 1801 – 70', in *A New History of Ireland, Volume 5*, p. 603.
[211] W. J. Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire 1846 – 71', p. 58.
[212] Dillon, 'The Irish in Leeds', p. 3.

the famine.'[213] If this was so, then understandably within thirty or forty years, the numbers of first born Irish would have been greatly reduced. Another point identified by Miskell was that there were problems identifying correctly whether someone was second generation Irish or not from the census returns if they no longer lived with their parents.[214] One of the methods used to determine whether a person was Irish, was to look at their surname. Obviously, this technique was useless if the female married someone with a non-Irish name.[215]

Were there more Irish women or men emigrants? Lees says that that it was very different prior to the Famine. Before then, more men than women emigrated as there were still jobs available to women in Ireland. In her mind, in 1851, families were inclined to move to Britain rather than America. The Irish population of London was young since over half of them were aged between 20 – 45 years of age.[216] David Fitzpatrick agrees that the Irish population in Britain were young. His statistics suggest that they were younger than Lees reports; 'by 1851 over one-quarter of Britain Irish population was younger than twenty.'[217] In Leeds, too the population were again young since 70 per cent of the Irish were under thirty years old.[218] Michael Nolan said that both single male and female adults along with families emigrated to Huddersfield. But from the 1850s, more young unmarried women left Ireland which meant that by the late nineteenth century, the typical emigrants were unmarried females. The mass emigration of women was seen as the only real chance the women had of earning an income.[219]

It has already been argued that the hub of the Irish emigration appears to have been during the Famine years. Both O'Tuathaigh and Fielding advocate this. 'Only a few came to

[213] Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin,* p. 39.
[214] Louise Miskell, 'Custom, Conflict & Community', p. 33.
[215] Ibid., p. 35.
[216] Lees, p.49.
[217] David Fitzpatrick, 'A peculiar tramping people', p. 629.
[218] Dillon, 'The Irish in Leeds ', p. 23.
[219] Janet Nolan, 'The Great Famine and Women's Emigration from Ireland,' in *The Hungry Stream: Essays on Emigration & Famine,* E. Margaret Crawford (Editor) (Belfast, Nicholson & Bass Ltd, 1997), p. 64.

England from Ireland in the 1790s, some more in the 1820s and then more in the 1840s.'[220] Another shared opinion by these two historians was that many families migrated to Britain throughout the course of the Famine. Pooley agrees, he said that the Irish migrants in Liverpool were either families or single males. Aside from the families that expanded after the came to Huddersfield; the census reports suggest that a large number of Irish people came with their families and settled in the area. For instance, in Castlegate in Huddersfield Town Centre North, there was the Gantley family. The mother and father came to the town with their three children who were thirteen, eight and five.[221] In Lindley, the Smith family were further proof of this, the two older children were born in Ireland but the youngest child who was only 4 months old was born in Huddersfield.[222]

The impact of the Famine was substantial enough to drive people to emigrate to Huddersfield. The Donellons were another Irish family; a mother, father and son that lived in Denton Lane. Since, Thomas, the son was nine years old; this suggests that he was born around 1842 which makes it highly probable that the famine was the motivating factor on why they left Ireland.[223] In the same street there were the Gaffendens, their Irish-born youngest daughter was two years old; clearly in the immediate years after the Famine, families still felt inclined to emigrate. Presumably, shortage of food was still a problem, resulting in families being forced to leave.[224] Here again is visible proof of the push factors that forced the Irish from their homes.

There are many examples of families that came to Huddersfield because of the Famine. The Gillerbans lived in Denton Lane, Town Centre North. Since some of their children were born before they moved to Huddersfield and others after, this is the most likely

[220] O'Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in the Nineteenth Century' p. 1.
[221] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre North – Castlegate, HO 107/2295 – RO 26/11/39.
[222] Ibid., HO 107/2206 – RO 558/3C/12.
[223] Ibid., – Denton Lane, HO 107/2295 - RO 273/11/102.
[224] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 275/11/112.

scenario. Their sons William (seventeen), Thomas (fourteen) and Dan (twelve) were born in Ireland. While their youngest children, a son Rubin (three) and daughter Sarah (2 months); were both born after they moved to Huddersfield.[225] Clearly as suggested by historians such as Fielding, families did indeed move to England at that time.

In these instances, not only did adults have to adapt to unfamiliar surroundings but their children too had to do so and may in turn have had difficulties fitting in. Older children would be more than likely have been required to look for jobs and for financial reasons been forced to take any jobs they could rather than choose one that they would actually like to do. Lynn Hollen Lees explains that 'sending children into the labour force at a very early age was a common decision of Irish migrants.'[226] It has already been outlined that in Huddersfield, employers didn't employ children in the mills under the age of 13 so at least in this industry; the children were protected from being exploited.

In Barker's Yard, aside from the Farquar family themselves, they had extended family living with them. In addition to a husband, wife and their two children; the husband's mother and brother lived with them.[227] Again the ages of the young children suggest that the family had not being living in the town long. It is highly probable that the son chose not to leave his elderly mother in Ireland instead; she too would go to Huddersfield. It has already been argued that family was important to the Irish and this example of the Farquar family appears to support this viewpoint that they were looking after their own. The widow was sixty years of age and at that stage would unlikely have chosen to leave her family home and homeland to resettle in a strange and sometimes hostile environment unless it was really

[225] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre North – Denton Lane, HO 107/2295 - RO 274/11/106.
[226] Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 109.
[227] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre South East – Barker's Yard, HO 107 /2295 - RO 69/3/137.

deemed necessary. The Famine would have been a real motivator for elderly people like Mrs Ellen Farquar who otherwise would never have considered leaving their homes.

Apart from families, there were also single Irish male and females living in the town centre. Their ages and professions varied from young to mature. Bridget Dyer of Kirkgate was a milliner of (44) years old from Ireland.[228] In the same street was a lad Richard Earl who was only seventeen years old and was a marble mason from Ireland.[229] Bridget Healy from Kirkgate was only sixteen and a servant.[230] It would have been difficult to make that move on your own, but as previously mentioned, having other Irish living close by may have settled people into their new area easier.

Even though the types of emigrants varied, their financial position didn't seem to alter. Britain appears to have been very attractive to the poorer emigrant. 'Before 1850 the more affluent migrants crossed the Atlantic, while the poorer could afford transportation only as far as Great Britain.'[231] W. J. Lowe said that until 1845, emigration was the last resort for the poor Irish. He agrees that people only travelled to Britain as this was all they could afford. Frank Neal too concurs that it was poor Irish that re-located to Liverpool and went as far as to refer to them as 'very poor' and even used the word 'destitute' to reinforce this suggestion. Pooley's description of the Irish in Liverpool too concurs. He says that all the other migrants in the city were from a higher socio-economic status than the Irish which again suggests that it was the poor Irish that lived in the area.[232]

Janet Nolan presents a slightly different picture. She conveys the view that before the Famine, emigrants were mainly skilled artisans, which suggests that there were hardly

[228] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre North – Kirkgate, HO 107/2295 - RO 275/11/22.
[229] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 276/11/28.
[230] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 278/11/138.
[231] Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 43.
[232] Pooley, 'Migration, Mobility', p. 178.

destitute. More men than women emigrated. However, the Famine changed things as from then agricultural labourers tended to move to Britain. She believes that this group of workers were nearly eliminated during that time. In view of the fact that this type of position was generally lowly paid, following on from this, it is more than likely that these people were poor.[233] James S. Donnelly like Nolan is of the opinion that pre-Famine emigrants were more than likely to be skilled. He said 'the conclusion is inescapable that in both the late 1840s and the early 1850s the overwhelming majority of emigrants were drawn from the lowest classes of Irish society. Compared with pre-famine emigrants, they were less likely to be skilled.'[234] The fact that workers were not skilled meant that little options were available to them when looking for work which in turn limited their earning potential. In Leeds, it was reported that 'many of the new immigrants were destitute and their immediate concern was to find food and shelter.'[235] Here again is further confirmation that the immigrants were indeed poor.

It has already been explained that because of this poverty, the Irish in Britain had to accept the circumstances that they were forced to live in. Dillon concurs and said that they were too poor to do anything about it. In addition, things were made worse by the way they lived. This has already been proven by the article in the *Morning Chronicle* which illustrates that the Irish were averse to attempts made by the authorities to improve things.

A common myth attached to the Irish, as outlined by Fielding, was that their families were larger than English families. In Leeds, according to Dillon there were only a few exceptionally large Irish families in 1851, but by 1861 the average size had fallen to 3.8 from 4.3.[236] Such figures do not seem really large. Fitzpatrick explains what the traditional family size was in Ireland, 'Irish couples persisted in rearing an average of six children, because,

[233] Janet Nolan, 'The Great Famine', p. 63.
[234] James S. Donnelly Jr, 'Excess mortality and emigration', p. 354.
[235] Dillon,'The Irish in Leeds', p. 1.
[236] Ibid.,p. 20.

above all, they regarded children as potential assets, provided that some of them emigrated.'[237] It was believed that some of the children would provide extra income and others would pay for their siblings to emigrate.

What was the situation in Huddersfield? It would appear that by and large families were average size. In Castlegate, in the Town Centre North, there was a Mrs Finan who was thirty-four years old with four children.[238] Daniel and Ann Gantley in the same street had three children.[239] John Morgan of Castlegate had two children;[240] John Murphy had two children and a lodger.[241] None of these families seem particularly large. This seems to be the general case throughout the town. Irish families in Huddersfield do not seem significantly larger than English families living in the same area. In Town Centre North, here are a few examples of some English families. There were the Jacksons on Queen Street.[242] There were four children living with their mother Jane, a widow. The children ranged from 13 years of age to 17 years of age. Then there were Jagger family in Hebble Terrace.[243] The father John was a stonemason of thirty-six years of age and he had three children.

Table 1.5 (see p. 289) offers further evidence that Irish families were not excessively large. The average number of children appears to be 2; of those that have children. One can see from looking at this sample of information that on the whole in the Post Office Yard Street; there were both single people and married families living there. There were a significant number of Irish people living in the street, which definitely confirms that the Irish in this street were clustering together. There were a few examples of single people who lived with their siblings who could have helped fund the passage of other siblings to England. It is

[237] David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration 1801 – 70', *A New History of Ireland, Volume 5*, p. 606.
[238] Census Enumerator Returns, 1851, Town Centre North – Castlegate, HO 107/2295 - RO 262/11/43.
[239] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 261/11/39.
[240] Ibid., HO 107/2295 - RO 255/11/6.
[241] Ibid., Queen Street and Hebble Terrace, HO 107/2295 - RO 261/11/38.
[242] Ibid., Town Centre North – Queen Street, HO 107/2295 - RO 305/12/114.
[243] Ibid., Queen Street and Hebble Terrace, HO 107/2295 - RO 195/8/106.

however, unclear how many of the single people lived in the one house. The majority of the people were either categorised as lodgers or visitors. Their occupations varied but there were a number of people on the street, who were labourers. There is, however, only one Hawker recorded which seems unusual in view of its proximity to the town centre. This is just a sample of the census reports in this area and already one can gleam a great deal of information about the type of employment undertaken by the Irish and how many children they had upon their arrival. One can also see how many children they had in other destinations and determine what route they took to come to Huddersfield. Families may have travelled from the northern counties of Ireland via Newcastle; they would have got a ferry to Newcastle and then made their way south in the search for work, which was the route-way that the Foy family took.

The Irish, although a significant presence, were a minority in Huddersfield and the surrounding area. They played a key role in the life of the town and some Irish were colourful characters as demonstrated in the *Morning Chronicle*. The Irish famine of the 1840s accounted for a huge influx of Irish people to the town. Their arrival meant that a supply of workers was available for the various industrial jobs that were arising as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Proof of the impact of the Irish and their descendants is confirmed by the building of Catholic churches and schools in the town. St. Patrick's was built in 1832 to cope with the increase in Catholic population. Its school followed in 1864 and was built to educate the Catholic children. 'It was necessary then to have manpower, and as neither the town nor the country was able to supply the increased demand for land, the Irish immigrants were welcome.'[244] In 1858 according to E. A. Hilary Haigh in *Huddersfield: A most Handsome Town,* the increase in Catholics in Huddersfield in the 1840s led to the need for a second priest in St. Patrick's in 1858.

[244] Rev Francis X Singleton, *A Historical Record of St. Patrick's Church Huddersfield 1832 – 1932 Centenary* (Huddersfield, Swindlehurst & Nicholson Printers, 1932*)*, p. 21.

In conclusion, it is clear that a large number of Irish people settled in Huddersfield after the Irish famine of the mid 1840s. The famine appears to have been the main reason why people left Ireland, but there was an Irish presence in the town before the 1840s. The continuous influx of Irish resulted in the building of a Catholic Church St. Patrick's in 1832 to cater for their spiritual needs. 'It was dedicated to St. Patrick because had it not been for the Irish immigrants, the building would never have been put up.'[245] From the 1840s onwards, however, both families and young single people settled in the town.

The Irish varied the route-ways taken to get to Huddersfield. Liverpool was the nearest likeliest port. Emigration increased in the early nineteenth century as fares were cheap. There is some evidence in the church records and census that illustrates that the Irish in the town were from Leinster and the west of Ireland, however, since such information was limited a general statement cannot be applied.

As highlighted by historians like Lees, Fielding and Fitzpatrick, the Irish were committed to their families. From this; it seems highly probable that the young Irish in line with Irish custom would have helped their family at home. 'We had very good cousins in America because they used to send the money and they used to send the clothes.'[246] This sense of loyalty even extended to neighbours and is why the new emigrants were attracted to areas where there were Irish already.

The different information suggests that both families and single people came to find work in Huddersfield. One cannot establish fully whether families were related or not because they had the same surname. Families often adopted the same professions but this would have been the case with English families also. Many people are classed as visitors in

[245] R.Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield* (London, MacGibbon & Kee Ltd, 1968*)*, p. 128.
[246] M. Verdon, *Shawlies, Echo boys, the Marsh and the lanes – old Cork remembered* (Dublin, O'Brien Press, 1993), p. 49.

the census returns. Others were recorded as lodgers but were the only people residing in the house. It is therefore clear that those that rented were classed as lodgers, but from the census returns one is unable to establish who owned the houses. Despite the evidence provided by the *Morning Chronicle* in a letter from Joshua Hobson, few Irish people and definitely based on the evidence that it was the poor Irish who migrated to Britain in the 1840s could afford their own accommodation or housing. People did share accommodation at that time but this was not only an Irish phenomenon.

Historians generally now seem to agree that there were few if any Irish ghettos in Britain. There is evidence that the Irish clustered together in towns and cities but this was namely for financial reasons or for social attachment.Whilst, Clem Richardson believes in Bradford there was a ghetto, in Huddersfield, there does not appear to have been a deliberate intention to isolate the Irish in certain streets. There is evidence that like many of the other key Yorkshire towns, the Irish were in a minority. There were admittedly some areas where there were more Irish but it was discovered that this was generally the town centre where more work opportunities were available. In view of the fact that Huddersfield was small, this meant that the Irish had fewer options available to them of where they settled.

CHAPTER 2:

DID THE IRISH INTEGRATE WITH THE HOST POPULATION?

'Prejudices were almost everywhere directed against 'the lowest Irish, the Irish immigrant working class.' [247] Such a statement suggests that the English and Irish people did not relate well to one another. If this was indeed the case, then clearly the two communities were separate and if this was so, no romantic liaisons could have therefore occurred. Norman McCord maintains that marriages between Irish and English people were slow to occur. [248] Why was this so? What prompted such behaviour? O'Tuathaigh offers an explanation on why it was difficult for the Irish people to integrate in Britain. Even though, their new home was Britain, their allegiance was still with Ireland. In his opinion, the long dislike of the Irish by the English made it more difficult for community cohesion to occur. In light of the earlier suggestion that the Irish were welcomed in Huddersfield, this presumably was not an issue there. Consequently, was there more integration between the Irish and English people living in Huddersfield compared to elsewhere in Britain?

The 1851 Huddersfield census returns indicate that there were marriages between English and Irish people. Since the returns did not require people to specify their religion, it is not clear whether the couples were in the formal sense of inter-marriage, a marriage between people of different faiths or not. Even so, the fact that the marriages occurred, suggests that there was integration between the two communities. This again is highlighted in St. Patrick's baptismal records whereby there were references to god-parents from both communities standing for someone. Clearly, in this instance, in the church, people did integrate with one another.

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[247] M. A. G. O'Tuathaigh 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century Britain – Problems of Integration', in Roger Swift & Sheridan Gilley, *The Irish in the Victorian City* (London, Croom Helm, 1985), p. 23.
[248] N. McCord, *British History 1815 – 1906: The Short Oxford History of the Modern Worl*d (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 226.

The Catholic Church may have condoned integration between English and Irish Catholics but it was not so accommodating with people marrying outside their faith. A letter from Bishop Briggs, in 1848, without a doubt demonstrates this and was to be read to the parishioners from the pulpit. In it, the bishop blamed the recent outbreak of cholera on the fact that some people were not practising their faith and referred to them as 'wicked'. He ordered the priests to tell any Catholics who were married in non-Catholic chapels that their names were to be passed on so that it could be decided if they would be permitted to receive the sacraments or not. If this was not critical enough, it continues with its forceful message and even goes as far as underlining terms to reinforce the message 'that the church holds all *mixed* marriages in abhorrence.'[249] The bishop realises that the Catholics in question may not foresee that by entering into a 'mixed' marriage that evils will follow. Without a doubt, such statements by the bishop show how much power the church believed that they had over the people. By issuing these instructions, the church was convinced that the parishioners would comply.

In Huddersfield, the suggestion is that some people may have disobeyed the bishop considering there were inter-marriages/mixed religious marriages. All the same Table 2.1 (see p. 67) does reveal that it was not common practice, relatively few Irish and English people married. This therefore fits in with McCord's earlier views of romantic liaisons; Huddersfield was no different to the rest of Britain. It is worth noting that not all the inter-marriages took place in the town, some occurred elsewhere. In Lockwood considering, the father Edward Fisher a silk spinner was a local and his wife Jane was from Lisburn, Ireland; the parents must have married after Jane had resettled in the area. There is further proof of this, taking into consideration that all their six children were born in the town. In contrast, the Hogans from the same area could have married before they settled in the town. Edward (36)

[249] Letter from the Bishop John Briggs to Rev. Thomas Harrison, St. Patrick's Church Huddersfield, November 11, 1848, LDA (Leeds Diocesan Archives).

was a gardener from Ireland and his wife, Elizabeth (33) was from Lancaster who worked as a domestic.

Table 2.1: Number of Recorded Irish-born, families & inter-marriages in 1851 [250]

Name of the Area	**Number of inter-marriages**	**Number of recorded Irish families**	**Number of known Irish occupations**
Town Centre North HO 107/2295	11	192	244
Longroyd HO 107/2295	8	28	50
Lockwood & Lepton Lockwood 107/2294 Lepton 107/2296	7	24	44
Lindley HO 107/2296	3	12	17
Greenhead & Springwood HO 107/2295	10	152	235
Town Centre South West HO 107/2295	24	250	283
Town Centre South East HO 107/2295	14	160	206
Kirkburton/Kirkheaton Kirburton 107/2293 Kirkheaton 107/2294	2	9	15
Linthwaite HO 107/2291 HO 107/2296	2	14	15
Total:	**81**	**841**	**1109**

The fact that there were not many inter-marriages suggests that the Irish and English communities existed separately. Louise Miskell in her thesis cites the viewpoint of Lynn Lees which hints that this was indeed the case in London. She explains that the 'Irish who lived alongside English neighbours were far more likely to form social bonds with their

[250] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851.

compatriots in other parts of the district'.[251] Obviously, she believes that the Irish would prefer to travel to be with friends rather than mix with their neighbours. In support of this, Lees explains that 'the London Irish generally married within their own ethnic group, there was little inter-marriage with people of English ancestry or with continental Roman Catholics.'[252] Lowe disagrees and in his mind, the Irish did not isolate themselves from the rest of the population.

Miskell offers a plausible explanation on why the Irish and English may have had to intermingle. She agrees that the Irish were not completely isolated from their hosts in the instance of religion. Aside from this, she argues that the size of the Irish presence had an effect on the choice of marriage partners available. In addition, she highlights that a gender imbalance would cause further complications.[253] Such reasoning appears logical and would tie in with John Herson's findings in Stafford. He feels that in a small town like Stafford, it would be unfair to say that the Irish were totally isolated from their host community. He believes that the situation there was very different to that of the Irish in large cities.[254] He admits that there were two obstacles in the way of the integration. First, the Irish tended to stay in the area only a short time which made it difficult for relationships to be built. Secondly, the Irish were poorer and of a lower status than the locals. However, he continues to explain that shoemaking was the main employment in the area and even though it was classed as a nominally skilled position, in his mind there would not have been too much of a social and economic gulf with the locals.[255] He found evidence of integration in the town and based this conclusion on the fact that residential segregation of the Irish was limited and adds

[251] Louise Miskell, 'Custom, Conflict & Community: A Study of the Irish in South Wales and Cornwall 1861 – 1891' (Submitted for degree of Philosophy, Wales, University of Wales, 1996), p. 21.
[252] Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Immigrants in Victorian London* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1979), p. 153.
[253] Miskell,' Custom, Conflict & Community', p. 41.
[254] John Herson , 'Irish migration and settlement in Britain: a small town perspective', in *The Irish in Britain: 1815 – 1939*, Roger Swift & Sheridan Gilley (eds) (London, Pinter Publishers Ltd, 1989), p. 95.
[255] Ibid.

there was no Irish ghetto. He further agrees that as time progressed, there would have been more of a positive relationship between the two communities once the Irish began to settle permanently. In fact, the Catholic registers convey that from 1862 – 1871, over one-third of the marriages were between Irish-born and English people.[256] In view of the mixed marriages and lack of Irish, the off-springs would in Herson's mind grow up in a pre-dominantly English culture. This would have resulted in the Irish culture quickly fading away.[257] He concludes that a common generalisation cannot be made based on this one study alone. In his mind, the study does demonstrate that not all Irish migrants lived in big cities and therefore their experiences differed. Huddersfield was a small township too and if Herson is correct, the situation of the Irish there would be different to that in Liverpool or London.

Lowe raises another valid point on why there was a need for some cooperation between the Irish and English. He states that since the Irish were dependent on the English providing them with employment, they had to be seen to being as at least 'minimal co-operative'.[258] He maintains that the Irish in Lancashire were quick to adopt the English lifestyle; their dress and domestic habits were very English which meant that they were soon integrated into the community.[259] If this indeed was the case, this would appear to disagree with the following description by Engels of how the Irish dressed or in contrast could imply that the English dressed like the Irish. In Engel's mind, the Irish dressed in rags that were either beyond repair or were so patched that it was no longer possible to see the colour.[260] He continues to explain that the Anglo-Irish patched their clothes but the Irish on the other hand only opted to do so if the garment was going to fall apart.[261] Clearly, in this instance he was

[256] John Herson , 'Irish migration', p. 96.
[257] Ibid.
[258] W. J. Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire 1846 – 71; A Social History' (Submitted for Phd Thesis, Trinity College Library, Dublin, 1974), p. 472.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Friedrich Engels, *The Conditions of the Working Class in England* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 79.
[261] Ibid.

being very critical of the Irish. He persisted in doing so and explained that England provided the Irish with opportunities that they did not have at home, 'the Irish had nothing to lose at home, and much to gain in England.'[262] Even worse than this, he maintains that the Irish were not used to, much at home and brought all their bad habits with them.[263] From this, it would seem that he believes that the re-location of the Irish to Britain was of little benefit to their recipient country. This criticism is again demonstrated in his description of how the Irish lived and behaved whereby he said that they lived in filth and were inclined to be drunk.[264] He affirms that a lack of cleanliness was a trait of the Irish. Such behaviour is permissible when they lived in the country, (where indeed many of the Irish hailed from), but could not be tolerated when they lived in the city.[265] Presumably, such a belief was in response to the growing concern about the rise of diseases in urban communities.

Huddersfield was a small township and if Lowe's theory on the need for cooperation between the English and Irish is to be applied, there would indeed have been some close contact between the Irish and English. As previously outlined, there were some inter-marriages between Irish and English people revealed in the census returns. However, closer examination of a street in Huddersfield Town Centre North, Table 2.2, (see p. 71) reveals that inter-marriages were scarce. Aside from this, other information revealed is, both the family's occupation, family size and whether or not the children were born in Huddersfield? The evidence from this small sample suggests that of the 16 families, there appears to have been only one inter-marriage and that the majority of the children that lived in this street were born locally. In addition, the roll number on the census allows one to establish who was exactly living with whom.

[262] Friedrich Engels, *The Conditions of the Working Class*, p. 101.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Ibid., p. 103.
[265] Ibid.

Table 2.2: Inter-marriages in Town Centre North: Kirkmoor Place [266]

Inter-marriage	Name of family	Occupation	No. of children	Children born locally	Points to Note
Single	Brady 188/8/45	Hawker			Classed as lodger
No	Cane 190/8/62	Stonemason	4	4	
Single	Dully 189/8/53	Unknown			
No	Freeman 190/8/64	Fishdealer	1	1	
Unknown	Hammely 187/8/37	Hawker	2	0	Mother is a widow.
No	Haynes 187/7/37	Mason's Lab	3	3	
No	Hopkins 189/8/51	Plasterer's Lab	2	2	
Unknown	Kershaw 190/8/59	Dressmaker	3	1	2 older children were born in Lancashire. Eldest is only 9 and is a servant girl.
No	Lighe 189/8/58	Labourer	2	1	
No	McDonagh 188/8/49	Labourer	0		
Single	McGarry 190/8/62	Labourer			
No	McGee 190/8/59	Dealer in Fish	1	1	
No	McLone 190/8/60	Glazier	3	3	3 lodgers lived with them. Parents were Irish Hawkers whose daughter born in Lancashire.
No	Mahon 188/8/45	Labourer	1	1	
Yes	Moor 188/8/45	Tinner	5	5	Husband from Leeds.

[266] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre North – Kirkmoor Place, HO 107/2295.

Post Office Yard, again in Town Centre North had a significant number of Irish people living there, (see Table 2.3 p. 292). Was there more inter-marriage or was Louise Miskell correct in her assertion that the size of the Irish presence had an effect on the marriage partners available? There were 44 listings of Irish people in the street. No inter-marriages occurred which could indeed corroborate the views of Miskell. The more Irish that lived in an area meant that there was less likelihood of people marrying English people. The area housed a number of visitors and lodgers. Labouring was the most favoured job with some other unusual examples like a Commercial Traveller. There is further proof to an earlier argument that families were not very large. The Connellys had the largest number of children. But even so, six children were not an excessively large family.

It should be noted that over half the people, (55 per cent) living in the street were single. In view of this, the inter-marriages statistics may have been different if the population were older and married. Instead, it is clear that the Irish in Huddersfield were a young single population who as yet had not settled down and had a family. Some people are listed as unknown since it is unclear from the returns what their marital status was, they were however, not living with either a husband or wife.

It is clear from the evidence provided in both tables 2.2 and 2.3 that these people married their fellow Irish people. Another interesting fact; is that on average, family size was relatively small; generally about three children per household. This supports Fielding's theory that 'differences in English and Irish household sizes were marginal.'[267] Robert E. Kennedy agrees, 'taking the English as the basis for comparison, during the 1870s and 1880s the Irish marital fertility rates were only 3 to 4 per cent higher.'[268] Both statements appear to support

[267] S. Fielding, *Class & Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England 1880 – 1939* (Buckingham, Open University, 1993), p.26.
[268] Robert E. Kennedy, Jr., *The Irish: Emigration, Marriage & Fertility* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, University of California Press, 1973) p. 177.

the notion that the Irish family was not that much larger than an English family, which is corroborated in the census returns.

Obviously, single Irish people were not only living in Post Office Yard. They were to be found elsewhere in the town too. In Castlegate, for instance, in Town Centre South-East, there were 33 listings of Irish people. Their age ranges are shown in the following table. Visibly, based on the information, single people older than forty were uncommon in this area of the town.

Table 2.4: Age Range of Single people, Castlegate, Huddersfield Town Centre South – East [269]

Total Number of Irish People	15 – 19 years old	20 – 29 years old	30 – 39 years old	40 – 49 years old	50 +
33	4	7	2	4	1

Elsewhere in Huddersfield, in Dock Street, the ratio of inter-marriages appears large considering of the thirteen listings of Irish people living in the street, two were inter-marriages. (see Table 2.5 p. 295) Again, family size seems fairly average; the largest family were the O'Marras who had six children. Similarly, a number of single people lived in the street. Clearly, mistakes occurred in the census returns since many of the family names were spelt incorrectly, for example both Divanny and Carney should be Devaney and Kearney respectively. The occupations of the people listed seem to be very varied. There were gaps in the details of the Nolan family. The Worthingtons were an unusual family; they were all English except for their Irish daughter-in-law thus reiterating the earlier suggestion that there was interaction between some English and Irish people. The fact that they had five children proves that English families too could be relatively large. Since the family lived amongst

[269] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre South-East. – HO 107/2295.

Irish people and had an Irish relative, this increased the likelihood that there was a relationship between them and their neighbours.

There were inter-marriages in other areas of Huddersfield too. In Greenhead, Springwood & Highfield, there were details of 10 inter-marriages. Table 2.6 (see p. 297) outlines where the families lived and the occupation of the head of the family is generally given. As in previous tables, the number of children people had and how many of them were actually born in the Huddersfield area is recorded. The Points to note usually records any unusual details about the family that were found in the census returns. It is clear that the spouses came from all over the country which most probably meant that the inter-marriages did not take place locally which answers the earlier question; the locals did not disobey the instructions of the bishop. It is not possible to decipher the creed of the English person but in the instance of Bridget Dunn in Duke Street, she is most probably a Catholic of Irish descent considering that Bridget is the name of a popular Irish saint.

Timothy J. Meagher agrees that the name Bridget was indeed a name connected with the Irish but observes that in America in the late nineteenth century that there were fewer Irish children with the names Patrick and Bridget. 'In 1880 and 1900 about 10 per cent of Irish women in Worcester were named Bridget, and 16 per cent of Irish-born men were named Patrick. In the second generation the number of Patricks and Bridgets declined precipitiously to about 3 per cent of American-born Irish women in 1900 called Bridget and 4 percent of the second-generation males bearing the name of Ireland's legendary patron, Patrick.'[270] In his mind, one of the reasons why these names were no longer popular was that humorists joked that 'Paddy' and 'Biddy' were stereotypical Irish names.[271] Another suggestion why there was a move away from using typical Irish names was that some people

[270] Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America-Generation, Class & Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880 – 1928* (Indiana, University of Notre Dame, 2001), p. 69.
[271] Ibid.

wanted to isolate themselves from their Irish background but Meagher believes that although that may have been the case for some people, others respected their ancestors' land but prefer to see themselves as American first rather than Irish.[272] Clearly, in Huddersfield this was not an issue but it must be remembered that this was 1851 and although at that time, the census returns continue to use names like Irish saints' names like Bridget maintaining a link with Ireland, in subsequent generations the situation could have dramatically altered.

Aside from the intermarriages found, there were references made in the area to two unusual things. First, there were the McCabe family. As a result of the father being a convict, his crimes were prejudicial to the whole family. His wife Mary (35) from Kingstown, Ireland was categorised as a convict's wife and their children were referred to as convict's sons. It was irrelevant that both of the children, James (5) and John (4) were born locally. Plainly, the fact that the crime of the father was applied to the whole family suggests that they all may have encountered bigotry because of the convict's crime.

Another interesting family were the Foys. Jeremiah, the father, was an Irish widower and pensioner (76). He lived with his son Hiram (46) a coach maker (46) who was born in Kent and married Mary (39), a local girl from Huddersfield.[273] The son's age proves that Jeremiah migrated long before the Famine. Based on the birthplace of Hiram, the two gentlemen re-located a considerable distance from the south-East of the country to the north-East which appears to have been a very different route-way to the town. They were not alone. Judging by the birthplaces of their children, many people came to the town via no set route. A quest for work resulted in their eventual settlement in the area. In time, a family followed. Admittedly, sometimes, some of the inter-married couple had large families, but this was not generally the case.

[272] Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America-Generation*, p. 69.
[273] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Greenhead, Springwood & Highfield – Greenhead Road, HO 107/2295 - RO 557/22/29.

In *Class & Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England 1880 – 19*39, Fielding points out an obvious fact that when there were children from an inter-marriage, they would be both English and Irish. 'Although inter-marriage was relatively uncommon it would obviously have meant that the offspring of such unions would have had a potentially split identity. This was especially the case in the much larger number of those generations raised in Irish families but born in England.'[274] Families according to Fielding grew in size in England but still retained that they were Irish. They therefore 'still felt their national origins to be important.'[275] Donald MacRaild corroborates this theory in *The Great Famine and Beyond.* The Irish were proud of their origins and this continued to the next generation. As a result of this, it is unlikely that the Irish in Britain abandoned their Irish roots as Meagher suggested that some Irish descendants did in America. As previously mentioned, this has been further proved by the use of Irish names in the Huddersfield census returns. However, if John Belchem is to be believed, not all aspects of the Irish identity were maintained. Belchem observes that the Irish were quick to abandon their language but that the Welsh were not.[276]

It has already been established that the Bishop of Leeds was opposed to mixed marriages between people of different faiths. Fielding explains that the main concern was that the traditional Irish Catholic would relinquish their faith if they married an English person. This was particularly important: - 'In the case of mixed marriages, where Catholic offspring were in particular danger of being lost to the Faith.'[277] Fielding believes that the priest was the key in ensuring that families and children were protected from anti-Catholic influences.[278]

[274] Fielding, *Class & Ethnicity*, p. 14.
[275] Ibid.
[276] John Belchem, 'The Liverpool – Irish Enclave' in *The Great Famine and Beyond*: *Irish Migrants in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Donald M. MacRaild (ed.) (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2000), p. 131.
[277] Fielding, *Class & Ethnicity*, p. 46.
[278] Ibid.

Even today, the Catholic Church is concerned when inter-marriages take place between a non-Catholic and Catholic. There is a requirement by the non-Catholic to offer assurances that should they have children than they will be reared in the Catholic faith. Undoubtedly, this is a method of continuing to ensure as Fielding suggested, that children are protected from anti-Catholic influences and that the family are looked after. He explains that 'before it could be protected from external threats, the family needed to be put on a proper, Catholic, basis. This meant, firstly, that adherents should only marry those of the same faith and, secondly that the authority of husbands be accepted by wives and children.'[279] These statements appear to be very antiquated and imply that the Catholic Church would do all it could to ensure that Catholics continue to pursue their faith.

These assertions were based on an analysis of 1900 Salford diocesan census. Different parishes analysed whether mixed marriages were a good thing or not. The general consensus was that they were not a good thing but Fielding maintains that the judgements made varied depending on the differences in priests' judgement of what constituted a good marriage. He further adds; that some priests saw positive aspects in mixed marriages.[280] However, no such analysis has been done in Huddersfield. This may not have been deemed necessary as there were fewer Irish in the town in comparison with other areas of the country like Liverpool, the port city which was the first destination point for many migrants. In addition, the number of single people living in the town would mean that such a study was not necessary.

Fielding reasons that mixed marriages became much more common towards the middle of the nineteenth century. To substantiate this, he provides figures based on Frances Finnegan's study of York. 'In York in 1841 the proportion was as large as 71.4 per cent …..

[279] Fielding, *Class & Ethnicity*, p. 59.
[280] Ibid.

After the 1850s mixed marriages became more infrequent: …. In York the proportion of mixed unions fell by half in the thirty years after 1841.'[281] Finnegan is of the opinion that there were a high number of inter-marriages because assimilation had occurred. What happened to change the situation? A plausible excuse was that the numbers of Irish living in the city had decreased. This scenario appears unlikely, in view of the timing. The Famine was at its peak and subsequently migration was rampant. Finnegan believed that there were fewer inter-marriages after the famine as the Irish lived in the poorest areas.[282] Evidently, like Miskell outlined, the opportunities therefore did not arise because of the circumstances that the Irish lived in.

It should be noted that the Catholic Church was not alone in its disproval of inter-marriages. Seemingly, the Anglican Church too didn't agree with them either, but there is no concrete evidence of this actually occurring in Huddersfield.[283] Therefore, it is clear that both Protestants and Catholics were guilty of being prejudiced and were united in their disproval of mixed marriages.

Again in Table 2.7, (see p. 299), it is possible to establish important trends. Even the enumerator questioned some of the details in the census returns. He was uncertain of the exact place of birth of some of the Dransfield children. Undoubtedly, enormous obstacles existed hampering the collection of data by the enumerators. Some information on families was peculiar like the Gillons in Lockwood. Only the eldest son who was born in Belfast was Irish. In addition, in the instance of the Scholefields the father David (64) was from Halifax. His wife Anne (40) was considerably younger. Only the eldest two children in the family Charles (22) and Mary Anne (19) were Irish. The remaining four children ranged from six to fifteen years old and were all born in Huddersfield. Possible explanations in view of the

[281] Fielding, *Class & Ethnicity*, p. 70.
[282] Graham Davis, *The Irish in Britain 1815 – 1914* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1991), p. 64.
[283] Fielding, *Class & Ethnicity*, p. 71.

father being English are either that the elder children were a family from a previous marriage or else the father had lived temporarily in Ireland.

In Longroyd, there is more evidence of inter-marriages and family sizes continue to be consistent, the largest family were the Lasseys who had six children. Since Jane Brown was from Newry and Derindo Lister (possibly could be Deirdre) was from Donegal, one can see that people migrated from the North of Ireland to Huddersfield too. This confirms that people from different parts of Ireland came to live in the town too.

Table 2.8: Inter-marriages in Longroyd [284]

Street Name	**Name of family**	**Occupation**	**Number of children**	**Children born in Huddersfield**	**Points to Note**
Marsh Lane	Brown RO999/39/97	Classical/ Maths Teacher	3	0	The mother was from Newry, her husband was from Stockwell.
Paddock Foot	Cotton 890/34/75	Silk Dresser	0	N/A	The wife was Irish.
Paddock Foot	Crowther 885/34/45	Spinner	1	1	The mother was from Celbridge in Ireland.
Paddock Foot	Lassey 886/34/46	Cloth Dresser	6	6	Wife only (30) but husband George was (58).

[284] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Longroyd, HO 107/2395.

Paddock Foot	Lister 886/34/48	Tailor	3	3	The mother Derindo was from Donegal.
Paddock Foot	Marsden 874/33/138	Slubber	3	3	The father David was from Sligo.
Paddock Foot	Wood 888/34/58	Cloth Finisher	1	0	The father was from Meltham.
Paddock Road	McGrath 942/36/77	Vicar	0	N/A	The wife was local.

It is clear that although there were not that many Irish living in Longroyd, (there were 28 families), quite a few inter-marriages occurred. Many of those that inter-married chose to live in Paddock Foot. This could be merely coincidental or perhaps they united together to form a sympathetic community where people in similar circumstances could live and support one another. Inter-marriage was evenly distributed between both sexes meaning that the Irish and English women and men were equally inclined to inter-marry.

One would expect to find far more inter-marriages where the majority of the Irish lived, the town centre. As indicated earlier, there were only 11 inter-marriages in Town centre North. This number appears low considering there were 192 listings of Irish people. It was suggested that the main reason for this was because of the considerable number of single Irish living in the town. Almost half of the whole area was not married. In fact, 84 of the 192 listings in the Town Centre North were single.[285]

[285] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre North, HO 107/2295.

Many questions remain unanswered when looking at census material. For instance it is not clear where spouses met when one of them is from a local town or city like Leeds. Was it work or location that brought them together? Of course, when there are children born elsewhere, it is possible to establish what indeed did occur. Since both John Morgan and his eldest child were born in London, he definitely must have met his wife before they moved to Huddersfield. (see Table 2.9 p. 301)Therefore, one can surmise that relationships did exist between Irish and English people elsewhere in Britain too. The fact that this family moved about a lot (as confirmed in the census returns) suggests that the search for work is why the family moved to Huddersfield.

It is not very informative merely citing Yorkshire as the birthplace of the Moors considering the size of the county. To assume they came from Huddersfield would be merely a presumption. It is most probable that many of the young couples with no family were most likely newlyweds. Following on from this, both the number of young couples and single people living in Huddersfield conveys that it was a popular choice with young people. Moving to the town meant they escaped the famine and got a chance to start a new life because of the employment opportunities available.

It must be highlighted that although the inter-marriages in Dock Street were referred to in Table 2.5, by including them again a complete picture can be made on what happened in Town Centre South-East. An examination of the information in Table 2.10 (see p. 303) reveals that not all childless couples were newly-weds. The Haines, Browns, Walkers and Gambles' families were all older couples. Using this information alone, it is impossible to say whether or not they have a grown up family who have left the nest. When there were children, family sizes were generally small. Castlegate, a popular area for the Irish was also attractive to inter-married couples.

Samuel Wood had an unusual occupation as a Yeast Seller although he may merely have been a Hawker. Aside from this, Robert Hamilton from Colne Terrace a Block Printer was curious as he was listed as being from a British Colony.[286]His wife Catherine was Irish and although technically Ireland was a British Colony too the enumerator concerned may have perceived it differently. Consequently, it is unclear whether or not this was a straightforward inter-marriage. The other unusual entry was the Kellys of Windsor Court. It is suggested that they were related to both the Kelly families in Barker's Yard and Thomas Street, since their names and streets are noted alongside one another. This appears to have been the only real proof that families were related other than the obvious when people lived together.

Elsewhere in Huddersfield, Town Centre South-West there were 24 inter-married couples living in the area which accounted for 10 per cent of that area's Irish population. Of the remainder, almost half were single (49 per cent) which again confirms that the area was popular amongst young Irish people.

Here again in Table 2.11 (see p. 306), it is clear that there were trends to inter-marriages and that the couples were attracted to live in certain streets, most notably Manchester Street. As elsewhere, none of the families were particularly large and certain jobs are repeated such as boot making for instance. The work of a journeyman's could be possibly similar to a hawker. There were occasional couples who were childless. Spouses came from all over the country and John McDonald was from as far as Scotland. There was even the possibility that Thomas and Alice Lodge who lived in Glass Alley became parents later in life considering the mother was 38 and the father 48.

[286] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre South – East, Colne Terrace, HO 107/2295 - RO 17/1/94.

In light of the fact, a local Johnson Abbey was a hardware hawker, here again is further proof that English people too worked as hawkers. Georgina Knight may have been a Hawker from London, but she is not really a good example of an English person choosing to be a hawker considering both she and her husband were most probably running a family business.

Since James Hearn's wife was from Liverpool, it is probable that he had initially travelled to Liverpool and in time moved with his wife to Huddersfield. Another family, the Byrnes clearly moved around a lot considering their children were born in Bradford, Halifax or Huddersfield. The family flitted back and forth to Bradford considering both their eldest two children and fourth child were born there. Their third child, a daughter Letitia was born in Halifax and the baby of the family was born in Huddersfield.

The information provided on the Duffys in Outcote Bank is confusing. James the Head of the family was a local and his wife Bridget was a housekeeper.[287] It is unclear whether she was a housekeeper in her own home or in paid employment. The information provided suggests that the parents moved back and forth between Ireland and Huddersfield. This seems highly impractical in view of the expense of the journey and an agricultural labourer's low wage would make it even more difficult to finance such a move. Thus this scenario is unlikely. A more logical explanation was that both parents were widowed and after they re-married, their existing families were united together. Moreover, it is odd that a parent would call two of their daughters Mary and Ann respectively and then combine both names to have a Mary-Ann. (see Table 2.12, p. 84)

Aside from their family, the Duffys had three lodgers living with them. The census states that Joseph an Irish Brush dealer was 36 and that he had a son Patrick 21. If these ages

[287] Here again is another example of the popularity of the Christian name Bridget.

are correct, it suggests that Joseph became a father at 15. Mary another fellow Irish factory worker (19); also lodged with the family. In short, in this residence there were 11 people living there, far more people than in neighbouring homes.

Table 2.12: Ages & place of birth of Duffys, Outcote Bank, Huddersfield Town Centre South-West [288]

Name of Child	Age	Occupation	Place of Birth
Mary	15	Woollen Piecer	Ireland
John	14	Woollen Picker	Huddersfield
James	13	Woollen Picker	Ireland
Thomas	11	Scholar	Ireland
Ann	9	Scholar	Ireland
Mary-Ann	8	Scholar	Huddersfield

The Dunns were labelled as paupers but surprisingly, their children unlike the earlier reference to a convict were not referred to as so. Instead, their eldest daughter's Ellen's job as a Woollen picker was merely recorded. It has already been established in Chapter 1 that most of the Irish in Huddersfield were drawn from Connacht and Bridget Lister of Ramsden Street, Edward Byrne of Station Yard who was from Sligo and Thomas Duffy of Upperhead Row from Mayo further corroborate this. But of course there were exceptions like the Dunns who were from elsewhere in Ireland.

There is strong and clear evidence that inter-marriages occurred between Irish and English people in Huddersfield. The birthplaces of the children suggest that some occurred before they people settled in the area. The Catholic Church was opposed to inter-marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics and did all in its power to prevent such liaisons. Even so, there were inter-marriages. However, the census returns do not specify whether the marriages that took place were in the true sense of the word relationships between Catholics and non-Catholics or romances between Irish and English Catholics.

[288] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre South-West – Outcote Bank, HO 107/2295 - RO 374/15/97.

Of course, when there were more Irish people living in an area, more inter-marriages were visible. In turn, certain areas were more attractive for inter-married couples to live, for instance both Castlegate in Town Centre South-East and Manchester Street in Town Centre South-West. It could have been merely coincidental that so many inter-married couples lived in the area or perhaps they were purposefully chosen to avail of support from couples in a similar situation.

In Huddersfield, it is clear that only about a tenth of the Irish population was married to non- Irish people. The reason for this was the age of the Irish population who were between their late teens and early 20s. Many were young and single and had not lived in the town long enough. In short, they had yet to settle down and marry. Obviously, some older single people lived in the town too, but as a rule they were no older than their 40s.

If there was any prejudice shown towards inter-marriages, between Catholics and others religions, the main obstacle was the Church.Fielding's opinion on mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants has already been referred to. In Ireland, this would not have really been a problem since the Protestants were the 'elite' and therefore there the ordinary person would get little chance to meet them, unless they were employed by them and even then a social divide was ever present.[289] The Church was an important part of people's lives and the role of the priest, was, as earlier outlined, to ensure both the moral calibre of his parishioners was upheld and when possible to convert the non-Catholic to the faith. In addition, he was concerned that the children of Catholics and non-Catholics were christened and reared as Catholics.

Irish people from all over the country were attracted to Huddersfield and when there were children, it is easier to determine what route-way they took to the town. Family sizes in

[289] Interview with C. E. Moriarty, 5 July 2008.

Huddersfield were relatively small when inter-marriages occurred. The largest family at the time were on the whole between six and seven children. Here again, it was the age of the migrants that was a determining factor in the size of the family. In Table 2.13, the average number of children was two which further substantiates the earlier argument that family sizes were not that large. In this example, parents were mainly young and were between 20 – 50 years old. In time, family size similar to the number of people married could be very different.

Table 2.13: Age Range of Married people, Castlegate, Huddersfield Town Centre South – East [290]

Total Number of Irish People	**15 – 19 years old**	**20 – 29 years old**	**30 – 39 years old**	**40 – 49 years old**	**50 +**
33	0	4	3	3	2
Average Number of children	N/A	2	2	2	3

One can conclude that Huddersfield was no different to the rest of the country. The Irish may have been welcomed, yet this did not result in more inter-marriages. In fact, the majority of the couples were already married before settling in the area. The Irish population was young and further to this, evidence in the census returns proves that some inter-married couples lived close to one another. All the same, there is no definite proof to confirm that a deliberate effort was made to do so. Instead, a shortage of housing (which will be addressed in Chapter 6) may have forced the situation. This suggests that it was merely coincidental that people in similar circumstances lived closed to one another, but even so a network of support was available. Nonetheless, judging by the names in the census returns, many of the couples had Irish ancestors. If this was so, then in truth, such unions were not a traditional inter-marriage; instead Irish people were merely mixing with fellow people from their own culture

[290] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre South-East, HO 107/2295.

and most probably religion. Concisely, the evidence may not be conclusive, yet, it is sufficient enough to say that despite the best efforts of the Catholic Church to dissuade it, there were indeed inter-marriages between English and Irish people in Huddersfield that may or may not have been inter-faith.

CHAPTER 3:

CRIME IN HUDDERSFIELD

In Roger Swift's mind, it was a misconception that the Irish were more criminal than they actually were. He argues that they were rarely involved in serious crimes. Instead, drunkenness, petty theft and vagrancy were their usual offences.[291] Even so, he continues to explain that the moral character of the Irish communities varied, a general rule could not be applied to all. Even before the influx of the Irish in the 1840s, there was a stereotypical image of an Irish 'Paddy'. Any misbehaviour that occurred according to Frances Finnegan confirmed that these stereotypes were correct.[292] In Bradford, Leeds and Manchester, police reports even labelled particular forms of crime and disorder as an 'Irish problem'.[293] From this, it would seem that the Irish were a lawless group of people who were a menace in many British towns and cities. But was this actually the case or was Swift correct in his assertion that the Irish only committed petty crimes? What happened in Huddersfield, what sort of crimes were the Irish involved in? For the most part, they were generally involved in petty crimes. Initial examination confirms that Swift was indeed right; drink or theft related crimes were the norm. Some crimes seem trivial and of course there were people arrested for begging. On the whole, however, there is no evidence that any real serious crimes were committed by the Irish in Huddersfield. Nevertheless, there was some concern by the locals about the level of Irish crime.

This was not merely a concern in Huddersfield. Throughout Britain, people were anxious about this. What caused this concern? During the nineteenth century, the Irish were over-represented in prisons. Swift explains that they were five times more likely to be sent to

[291] Roger Swift, *Integration or Segregation, The Irish in Britain 1815 – 1914 – Perspectives & Sources* (London, Historical Association, 1990), p. 22.
[292] Ibid., p. 23.
[293] Donald M. MacRaild, (ed.), *The Great Famine and Beyond: Irish Migrants in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2000), p. 67.

prison than the English, in fact, there were more Irish prosecuted and convicted than the English, Scots or Welsh.[294] He identifies the types of crimes the Irish were involved in as; drunk and disorderly or assault. To a lesser extent, they were mixed up in petty theft and vagrancy.[295] 'On average, at least one-third of all prosecutions in these categories in Leeds, York, Manchester, Liverpool, and Wolverhampton during the 1850s involved Irish people.'[296] From this, it is clear that there was a common pattern in relation to the types of crimes the Irish were involved in throughout Britain.

Swift explains that 'drink was the Irishman's weakness and drunkenness was the precursor of crime.'[297] Lowe agrees that drunkenness was an Irish problem and states that it was the main crime of the Irish in Lancashire.[298] In his opinion, the police were stricter about this type of behaviour in Liverpool.[299] In contrast in Manchester, the police were fairly tolerant of drunks and the Irish accounted for 25 to 37 percent of their total drunk and disorderly statistics.[300] Frank Neal's explanation suggests why there was a discrepancy between the numbers of people arrested in Liverpool compared to Manchester. In his mind, the practise of police varied in different towns. The Head Constable of Liverpool advised in 1872, that all those arrested for being drunk were brought before the magistrates. In Leeds, Sheffield, Glasgow and other places, the drunks were sent home.[301] Clearly, as Lowe conveyed, the police were more stringent in Liverpool.

[294] Roger Swift, 'Heroes or Villains? The Irish, Crime and Disorder in Victorian England', *Albion,* Volume 29, 3, (1997), p. 402.
[295] Ibid., p. 403.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Ibid.
[298] W. J. Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire 1846 – 71: A Social History' (Submitted for Phd, Trinity College Library, Dublin, 1974), p. 217.
[299] Ibid., p. 218.
[300] Ibid., p. 236.
[301] Frank Neal, 'Criminal Profile of the Liverpool Irish', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* 1991, Vol. 140, p. 165.

Aside from drunkenness, Lowe outlines that assault and breach of the peace were the main crimes of the Irish. Vagrancy he remarks was a problem even in small Irish communities.[302] During the period 1846 – 71, the Irish were excessive drunks, turned violent and were involved in riots and vicious fist fights, guilty of both larceny and malicious damage.[303] Even so, Lowe, like Swift, believes that the Irish were mainly guilty of less serious crimes. This seems odd considering the types of crimes listed. Noticeably, both gentlemen are ignoring the fact that the wrongdoings were predominantly violent. The consumption of alcohol does not excuse the violence.[304]

Mervyn Busteed deems that the behaviour of the drunk Irish was only acceptable 'when relations were more relaxed, there was a tradition of viewing the Irish as cheery, amusing …., but essentially harmless except when inebriated. However, when relations entered one of their more fraught periods, the Irish were viewed as a sly, savage and almost sub-human people, … prone to outbursts of extreme violence which they visited on fellow Irish as well as other people.'[305] Thus, the Irish were portrayed as bothersome when drunk. Not only that, they were violent and non-discriminatory to both their fellow Irish and non-Irish alike. In reality, their nasty nature meant that they didn't care how they treated others.

Even if Swift is right and the Irish could only afford to drink at weekends, this does not excuse the amount of upset caused.[306] Poverty and poor living conditions resulted in the most destitute Irish being involved in crime and disorder.[307] J. F. Supple-Green concurs that over-indulgence in alcohol was the greatest failing of the Irish.[308] Monday mornings was

[302] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 239.
[303] Ibid., p. 245.
[304] Ibid., p. 227.
[305] M. Busteed, 'Little Islands of Erin: Irish Settlement and Identity in mid-Nineteenth Century Manchester', *The Great Famine and Beyond: Irish Migrants in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, p. 103.
[306] Roger Swift, 'Heroes or Villains?' p. 404.
[307] Ibid., p. 408.
[308] J. F. Supple-Green, *The Catholic Revival in Yorkshire 1850 – 1900 (*Leeds, Leeds Philosophical & Literary Society Ltd., October, 1990), p. 10.

generally the day when they appeared before the magistrates proving that Swift was right about when they drank. Similarly, around St. Patrick's Day (17 March) was busy. Newspapers also substantiate that Irish rows were instigated by drink.[309] In consequence to this, attacks on the police were commonplace.[310]

Paul Mulkern states that 'Irish involvement in public disorder was a troubling feature of Irish immigration in mid-Victorian Britain.'[311] His observations were derived from a study of Coventry, a small town like Huddersfield. Equally, after the Famine its small Irish population witnessed its biggest increase.[312] As a rule Coventry's population was law abiding except for during elections when riots occurred.[313] A Watch Committee was established in 1836 to deal with law and order. It was noticed that a dramatic change occurred in Irish behaviour. Prior to the Famine, they were law abiding. From the 1840s to the 1870s, they followed the same pattern found elsewhere of being involved in drinking, brawling and sometimes violent assaults.[314]

He, like Lowe, agrees that vagrancy was a problem. Remarkably many Irish vagrants committed crimes or vandalism to ensure they would be sent to jail.[315] This shows the depths people would stoop to secure a bed and food. Victorians particularly disliked Vagrants, in their minds people should engage in hard work. Consequently, Irish paupers were regarded as a nuisance.[316] After the 1850s, they were less of a problem as fewer Irish vagrants and beggars passed through the town.

[309] J. F. Supple-Green, *The Catholic Revival in Yorkshire*, p. 11.
[310] Ibid.
[311] Paul Mulkern , 'Irish Immigrants and Public Disorder in Coventry 1845 – 1875', *Midland History*, 1996, Vol. 21, p. 119.
[312] Ibid., p. 120.
[313] Ibid., p121.
[314] Ibid., p. 123.
[315] Ibid.
[316] Ibid.

Mulkern continues to explain that unless the police themselves were assaulted, Irish criminals were treated leniently.[317] Not only the Irish men got drunk, women too were no strangers to being drunk and disorderly. Magistrates though were shocked by the violence of the women.[318] Despite these crimes, the Irish were never really a serious challenge to the police. Of course Irish men and women disturbed the peace; it was four Irish families who were chiefly responsible.[319] Their behaviour damaged the reputation of all. In fairness though, the authorities responded differently to their crimes.[320] Admirably, their actions did not prejudice the police against all Irish people.[321]

Brawls or assaults were the typical offences of those particular families. Although priests were mediators elsewhere, this does not seem to apply here. There may have been ethnic tensions between the Irish and English, but because there were so few of them, local people didn't feel overrun.[322] Maybe, this explanation could be applied to the Irish in Huddersfield; there were not enough of them to be a serious threat to the local population.

As in other places, fighting amongst the Irish was common. If the quarrel was over a domestic issue, Swift referred to it as 'intra-communal'.[323] Stealing and robbery were not much of a problem but drunken brawls were.[324] The police had no choice but to interfere when the Irish were violent after taking a drink. Additionally, a high number of young men working as casual labourers were disorderly.[325] Their youthfulness probably made them high

[317] Paul Mulkern, 'Irish Immigrants', p. 124.
[318] Ibid.
[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid.p. 126.
[321] Ibid., p.125.
[322] Ibid., p.129.
[323] Roger Swift, *Heroes or Villains*, p. 413.
[324] Ibid., p. 130.
[325] Ibid., p.130.

spirited, added to this when in a large group they may have become unruly. Mulkern substantiates that wherever there were casual labourers, Irish violence tended to be greater.[326]

Birmingham had different problems. In the 1870s, although only four percent of the total population were Irish, many engaged in street disturbances or assaulted the police. The situation got so bad that the police lost control of parts of the city.[327] Similarly in Manchester, up to the 1860s, Irish areas were generally dangerous places for the police. In Huddersfield, there were occasions when Irish people disrespected the police; however it does not appear to have been a major issue.

Neal explains that Liverpool's situation was different considering it was a port, a much greater volume of traffic passed through the city. York may have been the same size as Coventry, but in the 1840s and 1850s it had much more Irish disorder. Mulkern reasons since there were more unskilled Irish immigrants in York; there was a greater chance of trouble. In Swansea, the Irish tended to fight amongst themselves.[328]

Thompson agrees that Saturday night brawls were a problem. Mainly the Irish fought amongst one another rather than English people; the quarrels were commonly a rivalry about which province you were from rather than over religion.[329] Interestingly, he defends the Irish and says that they may have been quick to quarrel, but were also quick to help one another.[330] He too concurs that drink was a problem and says that 'every Saturday night, the streets of Manchester, Liverpool and other manufacturing towns were taken over by hundreds of drunken and brawling Irishmen.'[331]

[326] Paul Mulkern, 'Irish Immigrants', p. 131.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid.
[329] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, Penguin Books, 1991), p, 471.
[330] Ibid., p. 483.
[331] Ibid., p. 476.

The advent of the Irish around the time of the Famine coincided with the development of policing in Britain. In Manchester, there was a concern that unless something was done to deal with the crime issue, it would become a hiding place for people from elsewhere.[332] Low wages meant that there was a high turnover in the police force. Fascinatingly, in Manchester, Davies provides statistics that some of the Irish were policemen. In 1845, 110 of a total of 435 police were Irish; in 1855 the numbers had fallen to 58 out of 510, by 1865, there were 71 Irish out of a total of 670.[333] The men were not recruited locally but instead from Antrim and Down meaning they would have been mainly Protestant. During the 1840s, certain types of behaviour were dealt with by the police. By the mid 1850s, although still a lot of offences there were fewer arrests. In the 1860s, they became more aggressive; but from the 1870s, they not only prevented crimes but were also solving them. In their opinion, the Irish were drunks, violent and immoral.[334] Engels explained that, drink made their life bearable. Whenever they had money, they couldn't resist the temptation to get drunk.[335]

In light of this, it corroborates what Lowe, Swift and David Fitzpatrick observed. Drunkenness was a feature of towns such as Glasgow and Liverpool where there was a significant Irish presence. Fitzpatrick believes that the Irish clustered in towns with high crime rates and Irish areas were viewed by the police as 'danger zones.' Obviously Birmingham and parts of Manchester would fit into this category. He adds that the Irish were violent when drunk and as a result being drunk and disorderly was their most popular crime.[336] In his opinion, Irish settlers in Liverpool and Manchester were over-represented in

[332] S. J. Davies, 'Classes and Police in Manchester 1829 – 1880', in *City, Class and Culture – Studies of Social policy and cultural production in Victorian Manchester,* Alan J. Kidd & K. W. Roberts, (Editors) (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 30.
[333] Ibid., p. 34.
[334] Ibid., pps. 35 – 38.
[335] Friedrich Engels, *The Conditions of the Working Class* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1993*)*, p. 104.
[336] David Fitzpatrick, 'A peculiar tramping people: the Irish in Britain 1801 – 70', in *New History of Ireland V: Ireland under the Union 1: 1801 – 70*, W. E. Vaughan (Editor) (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989), pps. 647 – 648.

all categories of crime.[337] Following on from these comments, it would seem that in Huddersfield, drink and the Irish was a problem but not to the extent that Fitzpatrick implied. There were indeed Irish people who got drunk but it was only a small portion of the total Irish population of the township.

Mervyn Busteed raises an interesting argument that what the English regarded as crimes the Irish would have just seen as normal behaviour. Different values meant the two communities viewed various scenarios differently. It was unacceptable in mid-Victorian Britain for people to be involved in dog fights, gambling, drinking, singing, bare knuckle boxing and prostitution. Yet, such habits were customary to the Irish peasants who were subsequently arrested if caught doing any of them.[338] Grippingly, none of these so called particular 'Irish' crimes appear to have been a problem in Huddersfield.

What happened elsewhere in Yorkshire? Were the Irish involved in typical 'Irish' crimes or not? Frances Finnegan found the Irish in York were portrayed in a negative light, yet, she disputes the perception that they were very lawless. Her description of their life is bleak. 'The early post-Famine immigrants, then, destitute, unskilled and alien speech, appearance and religion could hardly have made a favourable impression on the citizens of York. Ragged and half-starved, congregating in threatening numbers in the Beclern or Walmgate, begging, snatching loaves, stealing milk and collapsing in the streets from hunger and disease, their gaunt presence must have been an alarming, if not a horrifying spectacle. Yet incidents such as those above were limited, both in number and largely to the very early years of Irish settlement in the city; and though throughout the period there were various accounts of Irish disturbances and riotous behaviour, the Irish contribution to both crime and

[337] David Fitzpatrick, 'The Irish in Britain 1871 – 1921' in *New History of Ireland VI; Ireland under the Union, II,* W. E. Vaughan (Editor) (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 668.
[338] M. Busteed, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century Manchester', *Irish Studies Review,* No. 18, (Spring 1997), p. 12.

the pressure on Poor Relief in York was not, in fact, as great as was then represented or has been traditionally supposed.'[339] While, yes the Irish were involved in crime; it was a need for food that drove them to steal. Unlike elsewhere drink was not responsible. She like Swift maintains that they were accused of doing more crime than they actually did. Like Huddersfield, prostitution was not an issue. A shortage of Irish women meant that there was more chance of marrying a fellow Irish person.[340] Consequently, the women could rely on their husbands to provide for them and didn't have to resort to this type of crime.

In York, the Irish were blamed for any drunken behaviour and fighting that took place, yet the areas were rough before they arrived.[341] Throughout Britain, there were Irish people who regularly appeared in court. In Finnegan's opinion these 'repeat offenders' gave the Irish a bad reputation. This was exacerbated by the newspapers that portrayed the Irish as very brutal people. 'The immigrants' reputation for being responsible for more than half the crime in York in the period rests mainly on their offences associated with outbreaks of disorderly behaviour. These were limited almost entirely to their own areas of settlement in the city, where, however, they were outnumbered by non-Irish offences in each of the censual years.'[342] 'Irish contribution to crime in the city, though diminishing throughout the post-Famine period was greatly disproportionate to the community's size.'[343]

Finnegan like Swift appears very supportive of the Irish. She admits they committed crimes but suggests that their involvement was often exaggerated. In her belief, the papers presented the Irish in such a bad light, it could have worsened the fragile relationship between the two groups. At that time, there was a serious distrust of Catholics in Britain. The fact that

[339] Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice: A Study of Irish Immigrants in York 1840 – 1875* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1982), p. 25.
[340] Ibid., p. 88.
[341] Ibid., p.135.
[342] Ibid., p.152.
[343] Ibid., p.153.

the majority of the Irish were Catholics would no doubt have heightened animosity even further.

Steven Burt and Kevin Grady in *The Illustrated History of Leeds* claim the Irish were a big problem for the police there. [344] In turn, the crimes of the Irish were particularly singled out in Bradford and Leeds.[345] The Irish were an easy target which explains why certain crimes have already been labelled as 'Irish problems'. Regardless of what happened in Bradford and Leeds, in some places, both the Irish and English people lived together relatively harmoniously. Even though Bristol was a staunch Protestant city; no major conflicts took place between the Irish and English people. In Huddersfield too they generally co-operated with one another.

In Leeds, however it was different. Helen and David Kennally in an article 'From Roscrea to Leeds' stress that not only was there resentment between the Irish and English people but the Irish people themselves distrusted one another. Occasionally drink was involved, but not always. 'Although sectarianism hardly existed in Leeds in the mid-1800s, there was some friction between Irish and English and between groups of Irish too!'[346] There was fighting between the people from Roscrea themselves and men from Ballina, Co. Mayo. Interestingly, the police asked the priest to resolve the quarrel. This confirms how important the priest was to the Irish people and obviously the police recognised this too and believed that he may be able to solve a problem that they couldn't.

[344] Steven Burt & Kevin Grady, *The Illustrated History of Leeds* (Leeds, Hillman Printers, 1994), p. 184.
[345] Graham Davis, 'Little Irelands', in *The Irish in Britain 1815 – 1939* ,Sheridan Gilley and Roger Swift (Editors) (London, Pinter Publishers, 1989), p. 117.
[346] Helen & David Kennally, 'From Roscrea to Leeds: An Emigrant Community', *Tipperary Historical Journal*, (1992), (ed.), Marcus Bourke, Ireland, p. 127.

Dillon too studied Leeds and observed that the Irish were notorious for their drunkenness, rowdy behaviour in streets.[347] Drunkenness resulted in disorder and invariably personal quarrels became general brawls. The Irish were regarded as riotous in the 1850s and subsequently like the Kennallys argued, friction occurred between them and the locals.[348] Dillon continues to explain that petty thieving, pick-pocketing, illegal distilling of drink, counterfeit and prostitution were the main offences in Leeds.[349] Clearly there were different problems in Huddersfield, York and Leeds. Prostitution was not an issue in either Huddersfield or York but yet it was in Leeds.

What happened in Huddersfield? Much of the information has been drawn using either the *Huddersfield Chronicle* or *Huddersfield & Holmfirth Examiner.* Of course there are references to Irish people being involved in crimes, other times it was possible to corroborate information using census material to establish definite proof of Irish involvement in crime. For the most part, it has been assumed based on a person's surname that they were Irish. Obviously, this is not very accurate and means that a true reflection of Irish participation cannot be established. Using this method confirms an Irish presence in the criminal courts. Whether or not they were first generation Irish is not possible to ascertain. The likelihood is that they probably were considering the numbers of Irish living in the town had greatly increased after the Famine.

Incidents reported in the *Huddersfield Chronicle*, confirm some Irish were disorderly. As elsewhere this was attributed to alcohol being consumed. Two gentlemen Devenny and Philip McGuire were both arrested separately for drunken behaviour. Devenny, was referred to as a 'Disorderly Character' but even worse McGuire was referred to as 'another

[347] T. Dillon, 'The Irish in Leeds 1851 – 1861', *The Thoresby Miscellany,* Vol. 16 (Leeds, 1979), p. 13.
[348] Ibid., p. 14.
[349] Ibid., p. 15.

importation from the sister kingdom'.[350] Noticeably, the journalists are being derogatory of both men and find their behaviour unacceptable. McGuire not only was drunk but worse still exposed himself 'in a perfect state of nudity, in Victoria Street.'[351] As a punishment, he was fined 5s and expenses.[352]

In another incident there was a physical disagreement between two women over the right to hang a clothes line. There is no mention that alcohol was involved. The matter may appear trivial but Mary Kelly was accused of assaulting Ellen Cassidy. Despite the case being discharged, clearly a volatile situation can arise over a petty topic.[353] Based on these three examples alone, the behaviour of the Irish complied with that of elsewhere in the country. Similarly, an investigation of another local newspaper, the *Huddersfield Examiner* concurs.

Table 3.1: Types of Crimes Recorded in the Huddersfield Examiner[354]

Name of Criminal:	**Crime:**	**Punishment:**	**Nationality:**
Ann Maguire & Thomas Mack	Begging on King St	Leave town within half an hour or sent to Wakefield for 1 month.	Possibly Irish
John Donnelly	Idle Vagrant and Soliciting Alms	Prison for 1 Month	Irish
Edward Kirby	Drunk & Breaking the Peace	Fine 10s including expenses	Possibly Irish
John Dolan	Cutting & wounding a man	£5 fine.	Possibly Irish
Mary Quinn	Bad & disorderly woman	Sent Wakefield for 3 months	Possibly Irish
George Hogan	Drunk & disorderly	Fined	Possibly Irish
Joseph Ryan	As above	Fined 2s 6d	Possibly Irish

[350] *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 3 April, 1852.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Ibid.
[353] *Huddersfield & Holmfirth Examiner*, 17 July, 1852.
[354] Ibid., 8 November 1851 – 3 January 1852

Winifred Kenny	Stealing shoes	Committed for trial	Possibly Irish
Catherine Burn & Catherine Galligar	Lewd & disorderly conduct	Committed House Correction 1 month	Galligar = Irish
Michael Kenny, publican	Permitting drunken & disorderly behaviour on Christmas Day	Fined 10s plus 9s costs.	As above
William Gilberlane & Patrick Duffy	Playing football on Sunday	Fined 5s each and if defaulted go prison for 2 weeks.	Duffy = Irish

From the above, it is evident that a variety of crimes occurred but only a few were definitely committed by the Irish. Again, drink was an instigator. The courts appear to have imposed a proviso that when people were unable to pay their fines, they would go to prison instead. At a glance, William Gilberlane and Patrick Duffy's offence seem trivial. However, the punishments issued suggest something different. Edward Kirby owned up to being drunk but refused to take responsibility for the second offence. Amazingly, John Donnelly had only just left the House of Correction in Doncaster for a similar wrongdoing. The reporter accused him of 'treating the matter very lightly'.[355] Plainly, there was little sympathy for Donnelly and similarly his worship stated that he deserved a good flogging and sentenced him to a month in prison.

Cross matches made with the census returns provides further details on the defendants. Margaret Fleming was accused of stealing various items of furniture from Manchester Street and selling them to Bridget Giblin of Barker's Yard of the Upper Head Row. The census returns elaborate that Giblin was a 34 year old mother of five from Sligo. The accused argued that ownership of the goods meant she was entitled to sell them. It was decided that she be committed to Wakefield prison to await trial.

[355] *Huddersfield & Holmfirth Examiner*, 25 October 1851.

Since it was the third time that Mary Quinn, a 32 yr old Irish Lodging House Keeper from the Upper Head Row appeared before the bench, she was sent to Wakefield gaol for three months. Clearly, her punishment took into account she was a repeat offender. This example complied with Frank Neal's argument that some people made several appearances in court.[356] It is most probable that Catherine Galligar's name was misspelt. She was probably Catherine Gallagher, an 18 year old living in Rosemary Lane.[357] Understandably, such an assortment of crimes could cause negative impressions of the Irish.

Of course there were some disapproving representations of the Irish in the media. This not only happened in Huddersfield, Michael de Nie discovered it was an issue in Liverpool too. Initially, when the Famine began the press were sympathetic of the Irish, but in time once the Irish arrived in their thousands to the city, they began to see them as violent.[358] The English labourer was reported as hard-working whilst the Irish were said to be inferior.

Obviously, when the Irish behaved badly it made their situation worse. It is insinuated they were not a people to be trusted and this is very apparent in the following example where the presence of two characters from the Emerald Isle was described as 'suspicious'. Reading on, Catherine and Maria Downey were charged with pick pocketing Hannah Barber in the Market Place. Hannah discovered Maria's hand in her pocket and kept hold of it until the police arrived and arrested her. Although Catherine, the elder sister was released due to insufficient evidence, she was still fined 31s and 7 ½d. Her sister received both a fine of 7s and a stay in Wakefield for a month.[359] It is no wonder that some people were disapproving of the Irish if such crimes were the norm.

[356] Frank Neal, 'Criminal Profile of the Liverpool Irish', p. 170.
[357] *Huddersfield & Holmfirth Examiner*, 8 November 1851.
[358] Micahel de Nie, 'The Great Famine and the British Press', *Irish Studies Review*, Vol. 6 No. 1, (1998), p. 28.
[359] *Huddersfield & Holmfirth Examiner*, 3 January 1852.

Similarly, the following event would most likely have the same effect. Naomi Ramsden, a 16 year old was approached by an Irishman who unsuccessfully tried to solicit alms from her *en route* to Huddersfield. This crime appears sinister in comparison with the other crimes featured. Again the title of the article, 'Abominable Outrage', conveys the journalists' disgust at what took place. The headline not only attracted the reader's attention but confirms that such behaviour was inexcusable. The article could have caused a rift between the two communities but, fortunately, it appears to have been an isolated incident. Nowadays, such a piece of writing would be deemed 'racist' since the alleged criminal's nationality is referred to. Such a publication could possibly have sparked a dread that all Irishmen would behave in a similar manner and that young females should be concerned for their personal safety.

In another item, the disdain of the journalist is again evident. The article suggests that Irish people in the area had little respect for the police. 'A stout lazy looking fellow, from the Emerald Isle, who obtains a livelihood by gathering rage and bones, was charged with unlawfully assaulting Constable Earnshaw whilst in the discharge of his duty.'[360] This was not the only time there were difficulties between the Irish and the police. (see Table 3.2, p.103). After 1835, the police tried to monitor working class areas making the Irish especially vulnerable since this was where they mainly lived.[361] At that time, the relationship between the two groups does not appear very positive. In particular, the Beer Act of 1848 was a real source of contention. Police were required to trace where illegal stills were and regulate the sale of beers.[362] It has already been established that the Irish were involved in the

[360] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 3 April 1852.
[361] Roger Swift, 'Heroes or Villains?', p. 414.
[362] Ibid.

consumption of alcohol; consequently disputes with the police were inevitable. Such clashes were referred to by Swift as 'inter-commonal'.[363]

Table 3.2: Altercations with the Police[364]

Name of Criminal:	**Crime:**	**Punishment:**	**Nationality:**
George Kelly (Beerhousekeeper)	Allowing playing of cards at 2am & refused allowed police to enter	Fine 10s & 9s expenses	Possibly Irish
Mrs Darnelly (Beerhousekeeper)	Allowing drinking after hours & policeman refused entry	Fine 5s & expenses	Possibly Irish
John Kelly	Assaulting police constable	Fined 5s & costs	Irish, 16 yr old Mason's Labourer from Galway.
Patrick Doyle	Originally charged with stealing pack sheet 5 months later, assaulted Inspector Sedgwick	Committed for trial Fine 10s & 8s expensese.	Possibly Irish

Visibly, the above mentioned people were disrespectful of authority. Although both Beer Housekeepers committed the same offence, different fines were issued. A possible explanation was that it was Mrs Darnelly's first offence whereas George had already been reprimanded. Swift observes that intense policing in Irish towns was counter-productive since it resulted in clashes between the Irish people and the police.[365] The policemen may have been only doing their jobs, yet they encountered opposition from the Irish for doing so. In spite of these examples, fallouts between the two groups were on the whole not really a concern. (see Table 3.3 p.104)

[363] Roger Swift, 'Heroes or Villains?', p. 415.
[364] *Huddersfield & Holmfirth Examiner*, 10 January 1852 & 31 July 1852.
[365] Swift, 'Heroes or Villains?', p. 410.

Although newspapers are often accused of sensationalising stories to sell a paper, they can be useful in determining what type of crimes took place.[366] McManus states that they pressed for severe penalties to be imposed and states that police statistics were not totally reliable considering all crimes were not reported.[367] In the following table all references made to both crimes committed and Ireland during the period 25 October 1851 to 3 July 1855 are recorded. Victorians were prejudicial of Catholics and believed that there was a link between religion and crime. In turn, the Irish were presented in the media as a people to be ridiculed. The involvement of some Irish people in crime corroborated that they were indeed untrustworthy and was exacerbated when repeat offenders were in court.

Table 3.3: Types and Numbers of Crimes by the Irish in Huddersfield

Types of Crimes	Number of Crimes	Types of Crimes	Number of Crimes
Stealing	55	Mill accidents	2
Drunk & Disorderly	45	Causing an obstruction	2
Assault	32	Battle between Irish & English	2
Information on Ireland	10	Refusing to Admit policeman to Beer houses	2
Begging	9	Seeking Compensation	1
Keeping a Lodging House without proper registration	8	Playing football on a Sunday	1
Assault on a Policeman	6	Prostitution	1
Gambling	6	Alleged Highway Robbery	1
Vandalism	5	Death Irish tramp	1
Illegal hours of Beer house	5	Cholera in Ireland	1
Lewd & disorderly conduct	4	Embezzlement	1
Crime in Ireland	3	Getting money under false pretences	1
Vagrancy	3	Idle & disorderly	1
Permitting drunk & disorderly behaviour	2	Forgery	1

[366] M. McManus, 'Folk Devils & Moral Panics?: Irish stereotyping in mid-Victorian Durham', *Bulletin of the Durham County Local History Society*, 53 (December 1994), p. 27.
[367] Ibid.

In total, there were 211 newspaper articles, but not all were related to crime. There was a reference made to the death of an Irish tramp and mill accidents. Other topics connected with Ireland ranging from the Queen's visit, to an outbreak of cholera and problems of emigration were reported on. Consequently, the number of articles was reduced from 210 to 193. Huddersfield's main crimes were the same as other areas; stealing, drunken behaviour and assault. Many assaults occurred when drink was taken. Similarly, both men and women were guilty of this crime. Begging based on this evidence alone does not really seem to have been a problem but there were people attempting to keep lodging houses without the proper registration. The crimes do not appear very serious but there were references to some violent assault cases and domestic violence. Some of the criminals were habitual offenders but others were merely guilty of minor crimes. The treatment of the defendants was dependent on the mood of the magistrates. Some crimes such as gambling and playing football on a Sunday would not be worthy of prosecution nowadays, but the criteria of the nineteenth century was very different.

To establish how serious the crimes of the Irish were, they have been sub-divided into either a minor or major category. Causing an obstruction, seeking compensation (dependent on the amount), vagrancy, playing football on a Sunday and begging would all be examples of minor crimes. On the other hand, serious crimes were various types of assaults (including assaults on a policeman), vandalism, illegal hours of beer houses, prostitution, highway robbery, stealing and being drunk and disorderly (classed as such if the person was very drunk and violent. The information provided suggests that there was a positive relationship between the Irish and English thus projecting an image of a cohesive community. On the basis of how crimes were categorised, it would appear that more serious crimes were commonplace. There may have been only a slight scuffle with the police, yet, it was still an assault so therefore, a major crime. Similarly being drunk and disorderly or stealing could

range in seriousness. Consequently, an accurate image is not projected of how bad the crimes were.

In the following table, it becomes visible that punishments given were either a fine or imprisonment. Since most of the criminals would have not had the means to pay a fine, they would have had to endure a stay in prison. Although, the suggested sentences may not have been that long (except for Julia Carney), nonetheless, a lack of money meant that people could not evade it.

Table 3.4: Incidents of people sent to Prison[368]

Name of Criminal:	**Crime:**	**Punishment:**	**Nationality:**
William Connor	Caught wandering around Spring Street with unlawful intent and was in fact begging door to door.	Sent to Wakefield for 21days	Possibly Irish
Mary Flaherty	Lewd & disorderly	Prison for 14 days as second time caught.	Possibly Irish
Patrick Colonny	Wandering around Kirkgate begging	Committed for 14 days.	Irish
Julia Carney	Lewd & disorderly conduct	Fined £2 & expenses, if defaulted go to Wakefield for 3 months.	Irish.

The punishment given to Patrick Colonny's appears very harsh. 'The poor fellow informed the magistrates that he had left Ireland because he had no work, and that he had saved enough money to bring him over to England to search for employment. He was eighteen years old, and had only been in this country for a week. He was informed that he ought to have remained in Ireland, as we had enough of poverty to relieve in this country. They could only send him to prison, as he had been found begging. He was committed for fourteen days and the magistrates trusted that, on his discharge, he would endeavour to gain

[368] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 17 January 1852.

an honest livelihood.'[369] Although, the court was unsympathetic of how long the chap was in Huddersfield; the tone of the article suggests that the journalist did not share the same view.

In the situation of Julia Carney, her request to be sent to Ireland rather than prison was granted by the courts.[370] 'Her request was complied with; and Mr Whitley, the relieving officer was instructed to make the necessary arrangements for her removal to her native country, whither she has been sent several times before, but hitherto has always managed to find her way back to Huddersfield.'[371] Obviously, Julia was a very resourceful woman who managed to fund her journey back to Huddersfield several times.

Biddy Judge was a character like Julia. When referred to as Biddy, she firmly corrected that her name was Bridget.[372] Some other cases were both entertaining and unusual because of their individuality. According to the *Examiner* on 20 May 1854, Bridget Dooley was charged with being a 'rogue and a vagabond' (a police term not an act) and was sent to Wakefield for one month. It appears to have been very imaginative to have hidden the meat she stole in her bosom. In the same issue of the newspaper, it was reported that Catherine Riley was assaulted by a Bessy Farrand who obviously was disrespectful of the judicial system. Bessy was fined one shilling and expenses and warned if she defaulted on the payment, she would go to prison for seven days. Her reply was that she couldn't pay and if she could, she wouldn't.[373]' Mary Connolly was charged with being drunk and disorderly. In her defence she amusingly said that she had been washing and baking and had taken 'a glass too much'. Interestingly, the police officer present spoke on her behalf and explained that she had been making a noise in the Upper Head Row. He argued that she shouldn't be punished

[369] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 13 May 1854.
[370] Ibid., 19 November 1853.
[371] Ibid.
[372] Ibid., 20 May 1854.
[373] Ibid.

considering she was a poor widow with four children. Instead she was discharged on payment of expenses.[374]

As proven in Table 3.5, unmistakeably the consumption of alcohol meant that assaults and disruptive behaviour were commonplace. Interestingly, costs were often greater than the fine imposed. The accused would most probably have had to pay their own court costs in addition to the costs of their victim. John Kirby's case was curious considering he assaulted his wife Sarah, yet she spoke out to both attack and defend her husband. She explained that drink often made him violent and resulted in him hitting her. Consequently, on the night of the offence, she reported she had no choice but to get the police to resolve the situation.[375] The case of Richard Morris proves that English people also committed crimes when drunk. From the census information, it is clear that he lived in Kirkgate and was 29 years old from Shropshire and married to an Irish woman Sarah.[376]

Table 3.5: Drink Related Crimes[377]

Name of Criminal:	**Crime:**	**Punishment:**	**Nationality:**
John Touly	Being drunk in the streets and for not appearing to answer a summons	Fine 5s & costs 8s. If he defaulted, committed for 14 days.	Possibly Irish
John & Bridget Tierney	Accused being drunk & disorderly in their Beer House in Castlegate	John fined 10s & 15s costs. Bridget fined 1s & 10s costs.	Possibly Irish
Nick Hannagan	Assault of John Adams in Beer Shop	Fined 1s & 12s costs.	Possibly Irish
T Murphy	Assault of Samuel Berry, hawker at Sun Inn	None – parties agreed settle issue themselves	Possibly Irish
John Kirby	Assault of his wife Sarah	Sent to Wakefield House of Correction for two months	Possibly Irish

[374] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 16 September 1854.
[375] Ibid. 17 September 1853.
[376] Ibid., 31 January 1852.
[377] Ibid., 7 February 1852.

Richard Morris	Assault of Samuel Dearnley a beer house keeper in Castlegate	Fine of £2, ordered to pay complainant 10s & costs 9s; if he defaulted committed to prison for fourteen days	**English**

There appears to have been a noticeable absence in the town's newspapers to fallouts between the Irish and English communities reaffirming the earlier suggestion in the thesis that relations between them were relatively good. There is one exception whereby both the *Huddersfield Chronicle* and *Huddersfield Examiner* refer to the same disturbance on 17 April, 1852. The fact that there are two versions permits comparisons to be made. From the wording in the *Examiner*, it would seem that the Irish were at fault after insulting some English people. 'After which one of the Irish struck one of the youths, who gave back another blow; where upon the whole of the Irish lads set to work and commenced kicking and cuffing their unfortunate opponents, who lost no time in making a retreat.'

Initially, the Irish had the upper hand as there were more of them. 'Yet the cowardly demeanour of the Irish gained them the odds.'[378] Referring to them as 'cowardly' demonstrates some of the ill-feeling held. The Irish used weapons unlike their counterparts and their fighting methods were described as being underhand. 'Sticks, shillelaghs, and pokers were the principal weapons of the Irish, whilst the English were almost entirely without anything to defend themselves except their fists.'[379] The shopkeepers were forced to put up shutters to protect their premises. Since the Irish women assisted their men by providing stones and missiles, this suggests that they were both loyal and violent. Little consideration appears to have been shown to an old man who fell over as a result of the injuries he received. Further to this, it was necessary for the police to come and break up the

[378] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 17 April 1852.
[379] Ibid.

fight. Seemingly, the only favourable thing that happened was that peace was quickly restored; the people involved were soon pacified.

The *Chronicle* presents a slightly different picture. It too reports that damage was done to property. It suggests that an Englishman was annoyed by a number of Irish lads and subsequently hit them with his cane. 'Number of Irish standing near; and they seized the young man and treated him very roughly.'[380] In response to this, some Englishmen interfered and a violent row took place. Again, the types of weapons used were described as stones, sticks and pokers. The Irish may have been winning at the start, but they were soon beaten by the English. 'At first the Irish prevailed, but were ultimately overcome by their antagonists, who were proceeding to demolish the windows and doors of the Irish residents in Windsor Court.'[381] Again, it was outlined that the police were required to come and arrest the ringleaders and shop keepers were forced to close their shops and put shutters up.

Despite slight differences, both articles show that within no time, a simple disagreement could explode into much more. The police responded quickly and resolved the situation so that calm was re-established. The fact that this was done so easily is a sign that relationships were soon on an even keel.

Aside from this example, a reference was made to a dispute between Irish Roman Catholics and Orangeman in Scholes and Wigan. Despite not happening locally, there were similarities with the incident in Huddersfield. Once more, the police were required to defuse the situation but this time more reinforcements were needed. The weapons may have still been primitive but on this occasion were much fiercer. 'The Irish had spades, pickaxes, reaping hooks tied to long poles, hammers.'[382] The Irish were portrayed as a very violent

[380] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 17 April 1852.
[381] Ibid.
[382] Ibid., 8 May 1852 & 24 September 1853.

people who preferred to fight with weapons rather than their fists. Following this event, 103 people were placed before the magistrates who were described as 'nearly all Irish'. Such a statement conjures an image of an unruly group being presented to the courts. However, since the journalist merely used the word 'nearly' there may actually have been fewer Irish people involved.

The evidence suggests that both men and women were involved in crime. The types of crimes they were involved in varied from pick-pocketing like the Downeys (discussed earlier in the chapter) to physical disputes elaborated on in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Women's involvement in Crime

Name of Criminal:	**Crime:**	**Punishment:**	**Nationality:**
Catherine Donling & Mary McGrath	Wandering with intent. They were both accused of stealing five shillings.	Case dismissed and ordered to mend their ways.	In census recorded 45 yr old Hawker, Catherine Donellon lived in Denton Lane so could be Donlin and spelling error
Mary Poynard	Charged Assault & tearing Catherine Manning's hair	Each to pay ½ the expenses.	Irish
Catherine Manning,	Assaulting Mary Fleming	Found guilty and fined 2s 6d and 9s 6d costs	Irish – in census 16 yr old General Servant.

As previously mentioned, the census returns combined with the news papers mean that a realistic picture is established of the types of crimes the Irish were involved in the township of Huddersfield. Catherine Manning was either a victim or the accused in separate incidents which both involved hair pulling.[383] One can conclude that Catherine must have been violent considering she was also charged with the assault of Mary Flannigan (Mary was

[383] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 24 September 1853.

a 40 year old Irish woman who lived in Boulder's Yard) on the 17 November.[384] This time, she was fined 5s and expenses of 12s. Clearly, Catherine had a history of assault and despite the absence of specific details of what actually occurred, the fact that she was found guilty each time suggests that Catherine was both argumentative and physically abusive. There is no mention of alcohol being involved therefore eliminating the excuse that the crimes were fuelled by drink.

Gambling was evidently a problem. John Tierney worked as a public house keeper in Manchester Road and was charged with permitting gambling in his public house on 1 May 1852. The case may have been dismissed but is different considering it was not until the Betting House Act of 1853 that police were permitted to search any premises if they believed gaming was taking place, similarly publicans were not permitted to allow gambling on their premises.

Of course there were people like Catherine Manning who were repeat offenders. John Maloy was another who routinely appeared in court. Initially, he was charged with standing and remaining with a barrow in Westgate. Despite pleading guilty and supposedly being let off, he still had to pay exorbitant expenses of 5s.[385] Three months later, on 1 January 1853, he was charged with stealing two iron pans to the value of 3s; and committed to sessions for trial. A few months afterwards on 2 July 1853 he was charged with playing a game of chance with Martin Corbutt. This time a penalty of 1s each was imposed and costs of 5s; if they defaulted they would be sent to prison for seven days. Mr. Maloy was obviously a habitual offender considering that within ten months he appeared in court three times. Although, none of the crimes seem very serious, the magistrates would not have viewed such behaviour favourably and in turn a good impression of the Irish is not presented.

[384] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 26 November 1853.
[385] Ibid., 2 October 1852.

The living conditions of the Irish were a further concern of the authorities. Attempts made to improve the circumstances people lived in were not always well received by the Lodging housekeepers. As a result of their failure to comply with the regulations imposed, people were arrested. 'Thos. Dillon, a filthy looking man from the Emerald Isle, was summoned before the magistrates, by orders of the Improvement Commissioners, charged with keeping a common lodging house, in Lower Head Row, without having first obtained the sanction of the commissioners to do so.'[386] It was discovered that fifteen people were squashed into two rooms and that the police couldn't breathe due to the smell. The old man was fined 40s and 8s costs. Without a doubt, diseases would breed in such conditions. However, not only the Irish lived like this, the local working class population did too.

The evidence indicates that the Irish were over-crowded and crammed into accommodation causing a real concern that overcrowding would breed disease. In Huddersfield there were 413 references to lodgers in the census returns of 1851 consisting of both families and single people. One lodging house keeper John Burke in Barker's Yard was accused of keeping fourteen people in a lodging house without approval. The smell was allegedly offensive and he was subsequently fined 1s and 9s expenses.[387] There may be no details on exactly how many rooms there were in the house but unmistakably conditions must have been cramped and squalid.

Michael Ratagan's house was reputedly very dirty and as a result he was fined 1s plus expenses of 5s for each lodger to be imposed daily until the house was registered. Two other gentlemen were charged with the same offence.[388] It is unclear how the Irish dwellings contrasted with the 'locals'. Michael failed to learn his lesson, within a few months he was again charged for the same offence. This time, the inspectors discovered nineteen people

[386] *Huddersfield Examiner,* 21 October 1854.
[387] Ibid., 18 November 1854.
[388] Ibid., 25 November 1854.

asleep in the house, of whom sixteen were lodgers. Amazingly, since his last fine, he had managed to take another lodging house on. This time, he was fined £1 and expenses with 5s per day until he was registered.[389] Obviously, he had not learned from his previous arrest and continued to operate a lodging house but the fines were understandably dramatically increased in view of the fact that he had failed to act on complying with their imposition the first time. Such disobedience will have done nothing to improve the image of the Irish in the locals' minds' eye, except confirm the idea that they were a nuisance.

In addition, to this, crimes committed by the Irish at home too would further taint people's opinions. It is not obvious why the *Examiner* decided to report on these matters since it could have antagonised relationships such as the burning of a Protestant church in Sligo in revenge for angering the local priest. (Some of his congregation attended services there).[390] The church had been built by a manager for his workers at his own expense. In another article, the poor treatment of English missionaries is elaborated on. Both reports are very critical of the Irish. The paper either didn't want to present a very positive impression of the Irish or relations were so good that people were not worried that a rift would occur.[391] It is understandable that the Queen's visit to Ireland was highlighted in August 1853 but there is no really plausible explanation why the other scenarios were referred to.

In summary, then, there were repeat offenders who appeared before the courts for a variety of offences, some of which would not now be regarded as crimes. Others appear dateless for instance embezzlement and drunken and disorderly behaviour. Crimes such as domestic violence have also travelled through the ages.

[389] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 17 February 1855.
[390] Ibid., 29 January 1853.
[391] Ibid., 20 August 1853.

The situation in Huddersfield appears to fits in with the general behaviour of the Irish in Britain. Examples of each of the different 'Irish crimes' can customarily be found. Nonetheless, the extent of their seriousness is not visibly obvious. Closer examination reveals that drink did result in violence. Sometimes, though it was only a slight scuffle. The attitude of the police to the Irish varied throughout Britain. Similarly, the Irish themselves had different views on the police. Those who did have little respect for the police in Huddersfield weren't so much of a problem since the police maintained control of the town. Emotions did run high between the Irish themselves and consequently fallouts with one another were an issue. Such disagreements ranged from verbal abuse to physical assault. All the same, the fact that they were reported upon could generate animosity with the locals themselves.

Fortunately though, relationships between the two communities were generally good. Of course, there were occasional disputes but except for one major incident, this was not the case. Even with that episode, calm was quickly restored. It was disturbing though that a mini-disagreement could escalate into such a violent skirmish so quickly. This suggests that despite claims of good relations that there was an air of unease between the different communities.

Some misdemeanours that appeared in the courts now appear trivial. Yet, it was a different time and consequently they were viewed accordingly. Likewise, different cultures meant that the Irish and English people regarded crimes in terms of what was acceptable for their community. Consequently, some 'Irish crimes' were not seen as such by the Irish themselves.

Theft was the main criminal offence of the Irish in Huddersfield. Finnegan suggests that this was a product of poverty. The value of the goods stolen varied. Magistrates may have wanted to deter others from stealing and subsequently imposed harsh punishments.

Thomas Manning and Anthony Duffey were charged with stealing a bunch of figs worth eight pence but were sent to Wakefield for one month.[392] Another possibility for their stay in prison was that figs were expensive. Bizarrely, compared to stealing, begging was not really reported on in the *Huddersfield Examiner* during that period. This could be perhaps explained in light of the the evidence provided in the next chapter on employment; a variety of jobs were taken by the Irish in an attempt to provide for themselves.

It is interesting considering the 'fondness' the Irish had for drink that there were not more problems in beer houses. Of course, there were beer house keepers who permitted gambling and drinking after hours but when compared to the number of drunken and disorderly behaviour, they appear law abiding. This was not so, it was because there were not that many Irish beer housekeepers in the township.

Punishments given when found guilty varied from fines to a stay in prison. Magistrates were not swayed to issue lighter sentences when people were young. Examples were made of young people but invariably magistrates merely complied with what was appropriate for that time. Provisos were made when fines were issued that if non-payment followed, that people would go to prison instead. Lack of the necessary funds forced people to go to prison. The nearest was Wakefield. The length of stay there was dependent on the decision of the magistrate. Of course, the person's previous criminal record was reflected in the punishment issued. Examination of penalties given portray that there were times when they were unfairly harsh. The expectations of the period too are revealed. Being found guilty of being idle and disorderly resulted in a harsher sentence than a person who was caught drunk and rude to a policeman. Patrick Scanlon was fined 5s and expenses for the second crime yet, John Delaney charged with being idle and disorderly in Boulder Yard, was sent to

[392]*Huddersfield Examiner*, 20 August 1853.

Wakefield for one month's hard labour.[393] An explanation for this would tie in with the earlier Victorian despised view on Vagrancy. It was unacceptable for a person to be idle and disorderly and this was reflected in the punishment.

In short, the Irish were not distinctly 'more criminal' than the locals. Their misdeeds were in line with the general pattern of Irish crime. In the township, the two communities mainly lived in harmony but time may have altered the situation with the rise of Orangeism and Fenianism. The evidence confirms that the volume of crime was low but was sensationalised in the newspapers. Some of the accusations made against the Irish seem unfair, not only did they live in poor conditions but local mill workers or coalminers lived in similar circumstances. Poverty and alcohol were the root cause of transgressions. Punishments given varied and may at times have seemed harsh, but there was no real prejudice displayed by either the magistrates or the police to the Irish criminal. Some crimes appear trivial but equated to Victorian times were unacceptable. In addition, the Irish engaged in acts that were permitted in Ireland but not in Britain. Unmistakably, Irish crime existed in Huddersfield but it was not clear cut since closer examination reveals that stealing, assault and drunken and disorderly behaviour ranged in seriousness.

[393] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 16 June 1855.

CHAPTER 4

EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS IN HUDDERSFIELD

Graham Davis, states that 'the exceptional mobility of Irish workers, able to migrate on a seasonal basis, eager to move from town to town in search of better prospects, ensured that the life experience of an individual Irishman or woman included a range of employment that suited each stage of the lifecycle.'[394] This quote suggests that the Irish people were determined in their pursuit of work and were willing to travel any distance to secure employment. The Huddersfield evidence emphasises that the Irish were certainly prepared to accept any job that they could find.

During the course of this chapter, it is the intention to look at the Huddersfield situation in detail and see what sort of jobs the Irish took. Were the Irish indeed willing workers or were they in reality 'work-shy'? Did they tend to work in certain positions? In light of the fact they were welcomed to the town; did this mean that their experiences were different to that of other Irish people in Britain? Was there a common employment trend by the Irish in Bradford, Leeds and York? What was the earning potential of an Irish migrant?

A common perception is that the Irish were inclined to work in poorly paid positions. Lynn Hollen Lees states that the Irish were mainly considered to be the lowest social and economic group in Victorian London. She continues that few Irish worked in highly skilled jobs like metal working, machinery making and printing.[395] William James Lowe's thesis agrees, he declares that the children of the Irish were sent to work out of necessity to support the family.[396] Similarly, widows had to work to provide for their families due to the non-existence of social welfare. In time, when their children were old enough to work, the

[394] Graham Davis, *The Irish in Britain 1815 – 1914* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1991), p. 5.
[395] Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Immigrants in Victorian London* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1979), pps. 92 – 93.
[396] William James Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire 1846 – 71: A Social History' (Unpublished Phd., Trinity College, Dublin, 1974), p. 128.

situation may then have altered.[397] Is there any evidence of either of these theories in Huddersfield?

What, however, initially attracted them to live in the area? What did it have to offer? Singleton maintains that considering Huddersfield was growing so rapidly during the nineteenth century; the Irish were regarded as a valuable workforce providing a much needed labour supply.[398] Consequently, the Irish; were welcomed. Aside from the obvious jobs taken (these will be explored later in the chapter), the Irish adopted such a variety of professions that 230 of the 1109 positions held by the Irish in the town were ranked as 'others'. Such a title was used to account for the small numbers who held those positions. (see Table 4.1 p. 311, which shows the range of posts held by the Irish in the Huddersfield area).

It was decided that there was a need for an 'others' category since, invariably, there were many jobs which only employed one person. This blatantly adds substance to the earlier suggestion that the Irish were versatile workers who possessed talents in all sorts of different fields. In particular, the cloth, cotton, silk and woollen trade were specific areas of expertise. It is not plain whether these talents were transferred from Ireland or were skills that they acquired after their arrival. However, Colin Pooley suggests that the general trait of the Irish was to work in jobs where the skills could be quickly learnt or related to previous employment that they had in Ireland.[399] Lynn Hollen Lees identifies both tailoring and shoemaking as jobs where the Irish had prior experience.[400] Similarly, Colin Pooley judges them to be craft-based jobs.[401] Both jobs were found in the Huddersfield vicinity. Census

[397] Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 113.
[398] Rev Francis X. Singleton, *Historical Record of St. Patrick's 1832 – 1932* (Huddersfield, Swindlehurst & Nicholson Printers, 1932), p. 21
[399] Colin Gilbert Pooley, 'Migration, Mobility & Residential Areas in Nineteenth Century Liverpool' (Unpublished Phd. Thesis, 1978), p. 182.
[400] Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 95.
[401] Ibid., p. 110.

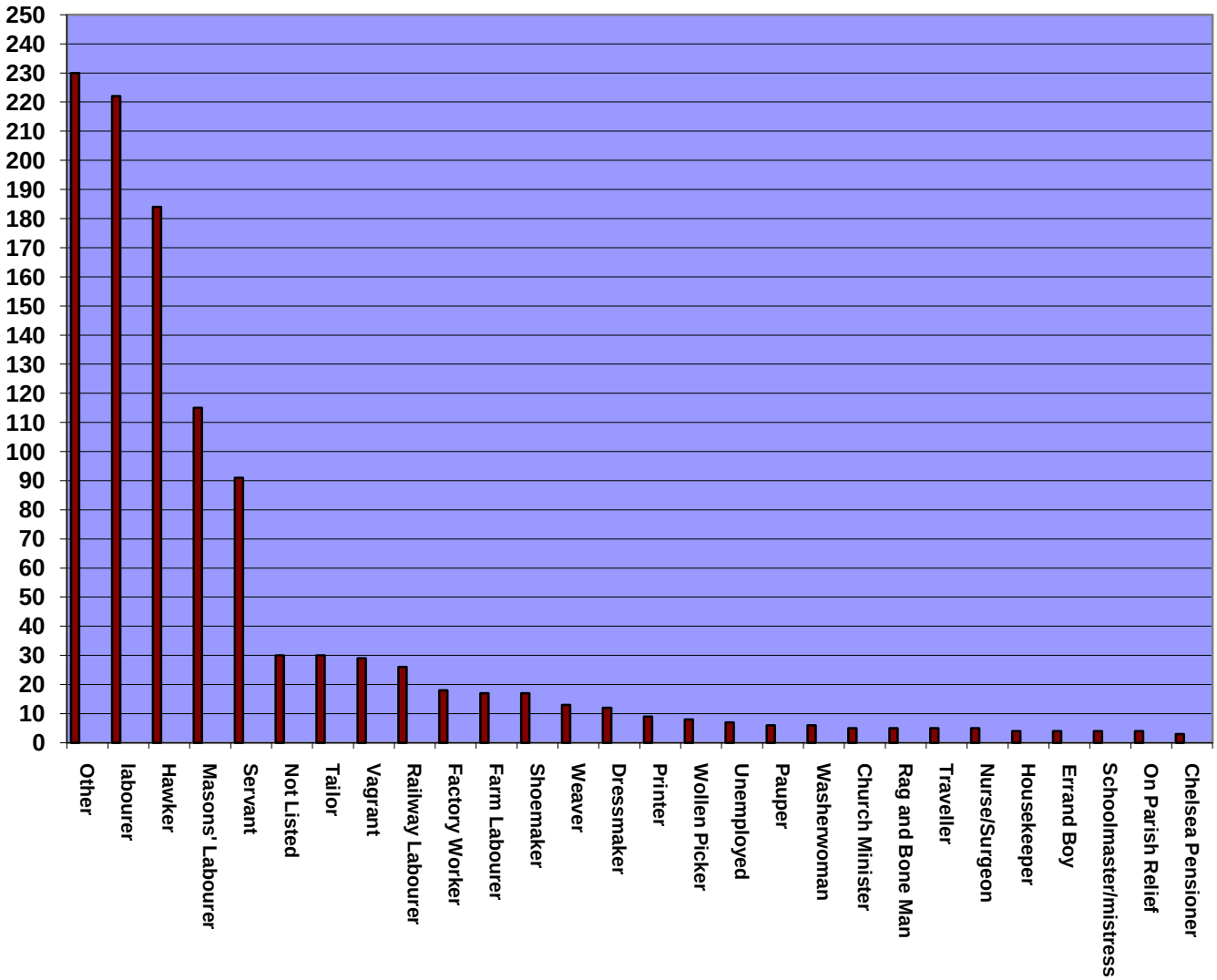
returns confirm that there were seventeen shoemakers, two shoe binders and thirty tailors.[402] On consideration, such jobs did require skill and training but bearing in mind there were so few Irish employed in these posts, it would appear that on the whole those that lived in the town were not particularly skilled. Lees continues that the Irish males were found to be mainly labourers and this was definitely the case in Huddersfield. It was the second most important job favoured by the Irish there. Further to this, being a servant was another popular position. In fact, in Huddersfield, it was the fifth most popular job acquired by them hereby again confirming that Lees' theories on London were also applicable in Huddersfield. (see Graph 1, p. 121).

Lees adds that 'one major occupation of both Irish men and women was street selling.[403] This again was another chosen occupation in Huddersfield considering there were 184 Hawkers in the area making it the fourth most preferred occupation.[404] In her mind, 'hawkers' income was at the lower end of the scale of Irish incomes' thereby supporting the theory that the Irish had little earning capacity.[405] Henry Mayhew agreed with this idea and maintained that the Irish earned the least money.[406]

[402] Census Returns, Huddersfield, 1851.
[403] Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 96.
[404] Census Returns, Huddersfield, 1851.
[405] Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 102.
[406] Henry Mayhew, *'London Labour and the London Poor'* (London, Penguin Books, 1985), p. 139.

Graph 1:

Types of Employment held by the Irish in Huddersfield, 1851[407]



What jobs then did the Irish take in Huddersfield? Graph 1 reveals that a large number of Irish people were categorised in the 'others' category. The next most important jobs listed were labouring, hawking, mason's labourer and servants. Aside from these positions there were a small number of vagrants, tailors but to name a few of the jobs located in the town. It is interesting, that although there were fewer Irish in the town compared to the numbers that would have been found in London, they were still attracted to

[407] Census Returns Huddersfield, 1851.

similar employment. This contradicts with Louise Miskell's findings in her study of Cornwall where in Tredegar, the Irish worked for the iron company where workers were needed. One can therefore surmise in light of the numbers taking 'other' jobs and Miskell's findings that the Irish at the time had a desire to work and were willing to consider any occupation to facilitate this.

Closer investigation of the census returns reveals something unusual. (see Table 4.1, pps 311 - 313). It seems very odd that a sailor should live in the area considering it was not a port. There is also evidence contradicting the notion that the Irish adopted poorly paid positions, for instance a greengrocer, licensed victualler or even a Beer house keeper were all recorded. Such positions sound fairly 'grand' and suggest that these people were perhaps better paid than perhaps a stone breaker may have been. (This will be explored later in the chapter). There were eleven glaziers employed throughout the area but in addition there were two glaziers who were both glaziers and plumbers. Combining these positions appears unusual considering that the training required for both were very different. It is highly probable that these two men were odd jobs men who in their desire for work were willing to attempt another job. Perhaps they were family members who were trained in each of the areas and were assisting one another.

Mutual and ethnic help, especially when the newcomers arrived, is a feature of immigrant communities and indeed the Irish were no different. 'Some had friends or family already in British towns and could count on a roof until settling in.'[408] The Irish had a deep sense of loyalty to one another and tried to help their relatives or friends to secure work and provided accommodation for the new arrivals until they found their feet. 'Irish communities … provided employment through a network of personal contacts from Irish priests,

[408] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire' , p. 15.

publicans, shopkeepers and lodging houses keepers.'[409] Understandably, the Irish were drawn to the areas where work was available and the decline of the Irish textile trade in Ireland in the 1820s had already led people to go to Scotland, Lancashire to continue working in the textile trade.[410]'In England, Irish settlement was concentrated in the industrial midlands and the north, in Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire and Northumberland, with minor clusters in London, the West country and South Wales.'[411] It has already been mentioned that the need for workers meant that the Irish immigrants were welcomed in Huddersfield.

Michael Nolan could find little evidence that the textile trade was favoured by the Irish in Huddersfield.[412] Table 4.1 however contradicts this argument. In Nolan's mind, it would have been difficult for the Irish to adapt to town life, since they were mainly from the countryside.[413] In addition he was derogatory of the capabilities of the Irish people when he referred to them as 'simply … not intelligent enough to do more than heavy manual, or petty commercial work.'[414] It is possible that there may have been a language barrier for some of the Irish people since Irish would have been their native tongue. However, this is only an assumption since there is no definite proof of this happening in Huddersfield. The fact that both the census returns and parish records of St. Patrick's confirm that there were Irish people hailing from the West of Ireland, a traditional Irish speaking area makes it much more plausible that a language barrier may have been a problem.

Frances Finnegan agrees that there were communication difficulties. She states that the Irish were 'often illiterate and frequently speaking only Irish, the immigrants, crowding

[409] Davis, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 5.
[410] Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 103.
[411] Davis, *The Irish in Britain*, p. 20.
[412] Michael Nolan, 'The Irish in Huddersfield 1831 – 1871' (Unpublished B.A, Huddersfield, 1975), p. 11.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Ibid.

together in the worst slums in the city.'[415] In York, in her mind the Irish areas were lawless and notes that in 1851, 26.3 per cent of the Irish were charged with criminal offences, though it fell to 16.5 per cent by 1871. The Irish lived in Walmgate, (a poor area with lots of public houses and beer shops) was renowned as a rough area before the Irish came. In spite of its reputation, once the Irish came, they were singled out as the instigators of any drunken behaviour and fighting that occurred.[416] Finnegan elaborates that because certain Irish kept appearing before the courts, (as found in Chapter 3), this gave the Irish a bad reputation which was exacerbated by the newspapers.[417]

Finnegan emphasises that the Irish had been coming to York before the famine. Originally, they were drawn to the city for seasonal work as harvesters and in time chose to resettle there permanently when the situation in Ireland; the famine, enforced this. Not only that, 'some of the immigrants were probably drawn to the city because of pre-Famine familiarity or because they had relatives and friends already established in York. Once settled, these too, no doubt attracted further successive waves of immigrants.'[418] Surprisingly, considering their arrival coincided with the development of the railways, the Irish were not drawn to these positions in either Huddersfield or York. (see p.311).

Another similarilty was that there is evidence of the keeping of lodgers throughout Yorkshire. Sometimes the lodgers were related to one another but often people were either helping one another or sharing the costs of accommodation. Having people from home living near by meant that support was available to help cope with some of the hostility that Finnegan says was especially prevalent in York at that time. 'In Protestant York, where there was much anti-Catholic feeling at this time, this sense of alienation would in any case

[415] Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice: A Study of Irish Immigrants in York 1840 – 1975* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1982), p. 2.
[416] Ibid., pps.133 – 135.
[417] Ibid., p. 139.
[418] Ibid., p. 133.

have been imposed from outside. Whatever the effect of the church and the schools on the attitudes of the immigrants, however, it is clear that in a purely physical sense at least, they were instrumental in keeping the two communities apart.'[419]

In York lack of housing meant that the Irish were forced to accept what ever accommodation they could find. Consequently, poor living conditions and illnesses such as the typhus epidemic of 1847 were blamed on the filthy homes of the Irish. Finnegan believes both poor health and poverty of the immigrants made the epidemics worse. [420] Similarly, many of the Irish worked as agricultural labourers in the outlying villages and were forced to commute long distances to work to secure housing.[421] Here again is further evidence of how industrious and determined they were to survive.

Despite a trend for many Irish people to be soldiers in York, this does not seem to be the case in Huddersfield where there were only a few Chelsea pensioners receiving a pension in return for their military service who were either retired or injured soldiers.[422] One of these was James A Berry, a 50 year old Irish widower who lived in Cross Grove St, in the Greenhead area of Huddersfield who had four sons between the ages of five and twelve all born in Ireland.[423] Peter Jones, a 47 year old from Enniskillen, Ireland was another. He lived in New North Rd in the Greenhead area also. His wife Ann was 42 and English; she was from Trowbridge in Wiltshire.[424] Aside from these examples, there is only one further reference to a Chelsea Pensioner who lived in town centre South-East. His name was Solomon Walker, a 46 year old who lived in Dock Street. In actual fact, he was English and

[419] Finnegan, *Poverty & Prejudice*, p. 120.
[420] Ibid., p. 26.
[421] Ibid., p. 65.
[422] Ibid., p. 98
[423] Census Returns Huddersfield, Greenhead, Springwood & Highfield , 1851, Cross Grove Street, HO 107/2295 - RO 490/19/112.
[424] Ibid., New North Rd, RO 580/23/23.

it was his wife Margaret who was Irish.[425] Thus, there were only two Irish people in the Huddersfield Township who were Chelsea Pensioners.

Seemingly, in York a substantial number of women were employed as servants making it the main employment for women in the city.[426]Interestingly, Finnegan suggests only a small percentage of Irish women were employed in the post whilst in contrast; in Huddersfield it was much more popular. (This will be explored in more depth later in the chapter). Irish women instead in York worked as agricultural and field labourers substantiating Pooley's earlier argument that some Irish worked in jobs they had previous experience of. [427] All the same, Finnegan indicates there were far more women working as labourers there compared to other Yorkshire towns of the time.[428]

Anne McCluskey observes that little reference was made to women's occupations in Huddersfield's census returns. It was simply assumed that women were wives. 'However, as many Irish householders kept lodgers it can be assumed that this was the work of many of these women.'[429] She also said that many of the women were hawkers, young single women who opted to be domestic servants and that the Irish lived in overcrowded conditions.[430] This suggests that the Irish lived in poor accommodation in both York and Huddersfield.The evidence in Graph 1, (see p. 121), supports McCluskey's findings. There was a large number of Irish working as hawkers, servants and labourers. Surprisingly, there were a lot of weavers too. It is possible the Irish were cottage weavers who worked in their own homes rather than the mills if one is to accept Michael Nolan's view that the Irish were averse to

[425]Census Returns Huddersfield, Huddersfield Town Centre South East, 1851, Dock Street, HO 107/2295 - RO 57/3/43.
[426] Finnegan, *Poverty & Prejudice*, p. 100.
[427] Ibid., p. 100.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Anne McCluskey, Irish Women in Huddersfield: A Challenge to explanations of women's Emigration (Huddersfield, University of Huddersfield, 1993), p. 11.
[430] Ibid.

working indoors because of their rural background.[431] Graph 1 suggests that a high percentage of Irish workers worked in jobs that were based outside rather than inside, looking at the numbers who were hawkers, labourers and other types of labourers alone. On the other hand those who were servants, factory workers, tailors, woollen pickers, shoe makers and weavers would all have been required to work inside thereby contradicting Michael Nolan's theory of their loathsome hatred of working indoors. The evidence of the census returns upholds the willingness of the Irish to adopt any profession to sustain them and their families.

Hawking does seem to have been a favoured trade for the Irish according to John Benson in *The Working Class in Britain 1850 – 1939.* He too shares Lees' opinion that the Irish tended to be restricted to poorly paid jobs and were the largest immigrant group in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Even so, the Irish only accounted for 5 per cent of the population which does not appear a very large figure considering that they were meant to be the largest immigrant group. [432] On the whole, jobs they were inclined to take were hawking and peddling. Hawking was the selling of a variety of goods that ranged from match-sticks to pots and pans. Peddling was similar to a travelling salesperson who sold small goods that were easily transportable. Both were low income employment. Other jobs taken by the Irish, were labouring jobs like farming, building, and construction work. In Benson's opinion there was little progression in employment once they were a bricklayer; always a bricklayer.[433]

In *The Penny Capitalists*, Benson argues that poverty forced people to sell items. 'In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Old Poor Law authorities … dealt with at least one applicant for relief by making him a grant of two pounds to enable him to set up in

[431] Nolan, 'The Irish in Huddersfield' , p. 12
[432] John Benson, *The Working Class in Britain 1850 – 1939* (New York, Longman Group, 1989), p. 58.
[433] Ibid. p. 58.

business as a hawker.'[434] Evidently, the authorities viewed hawking as a solution to the unemployment crisis and a method of providing financial assistance to people thereby alleviating some of these problems. Not only that; hawking was a working option available during the winter months when weather conditions meant they were unable to work as labourers. 'Street traders also provided a haven for the seasonally unemployed. In the winter labourers all over the country joined the ranks of the hawkers: the Irish as labourers, can seldom obtain work all the year through, and thus the rank of the Irish street-sellers are recruited every winter by the slackness of certain periodic trades in which they are largely employed – such as hodmen, dock-work excavating and the like.'[435] It would thus seem that there must have been sufficient income in hawking when it was such a favoured occupation and the variety of items that could be sold (see Table 4.2) meant that a large number of Irish people could earn an income.

Table 4.2: Types of Hawkers[436]

Street Name	Name	Age	Items Sold	Sex
Rosemary Lane	Patrick Cahill 234/10/37	20	Draperies	Male
Rosemary Lane	Bridget Carabine 230/10/3.	40	Matches	Female
Rosemary Lane	Gregory Flynn James Flynn 234/10/27	22 18	Draperies Draperies	Males
Rosemary Lane	Catherine Gallagher Mary Gallagher 230/10/3	18 50	Pots Matches	Females
Rosemary Lane	Winifred Kelly 230/10/3	30	Matches	Female
Rosemary Lane	Bessie Lavender 231/10/4	20	Pots	Female
Rosemary Lane	Catherine Loughan 231/10/4	22	Pots	Female

[434] John Benson, *The Penny Capitalists: A Study of Nineteenth Century Working Class Entrepreneurs* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1983), p. 101.
[435] Ibid., p. 102.
[436] Census Enumerator Returns, Huddersfield Town Centre North, 1851, All Rosemary Lane except for Mary Carrol in Rosemary Street and John Carrol in Silk Street, HO 107/2295.

Rosemary Lane	Frank McKenzie 233/10/18	63	Ink – Black	Male
Rosemary Lane	Bridget May 231/10/4	20	Pots	Female
Rosemary Lane	Patrick Murphy 234/10/27	50	Drapes	Male
Rosemary Lane	Patrick Nicholson 234/10/27	40	Draperies	Female
Rosemary Lane	Patrick O'Neill 234/10/27	51	Draperies	Male
Rosemary Street	Mary Carrol 231/10/4	26	Pots	Female
Silk Street	John Carrol 237/10/47	26	Silks	Male
OVERVIEW: **Number of Houses with Hawkers: 13** **Number of Hawkers: 15**		**Age Range:** **18 – 63**	**Items sold:** **Silks: 1** **Matches: 3** **Draperies: 6** **Pots: 5** **Ink Black: 1**	**Males: 7** **Females: 9**

In Huddersfield, hawking was a profession that both men and women adopted. Table 4.2 is a small sample of sixty-two listings in the Town Centre North area, based on Post Office Yard, Queen Street, Rosemary Lane, Rosemary Street, Silk Street, Union Street and York Street. The ratio of males/females appears very even. Also, the age range seems to cover a wide span from the very young to the more mature person. In Rosemary Lane, of the 18 families listed in the street, only four families had no members working as hawkers. Items sold by the hawkers ranged from draperies to matches, pots and matches in one family and even hawkers of silks.[437] One can conclude that hawkers were attracted to this area and were presumably within easy access of their working place. The hawkers in this sample were mainly single people. Widows like Mary Gallagher and her daughter worked as hawkers too linking in with the earlier suggestion that widows were required to work to support their families. Admittedly, this is only one area in Huddersfield and is a very small

[437] Census Enumerator Returns, Huddersfield Town Centre North, 1851, HO 107/2295.

sample but all the same it does give an overview of the types of goods sold and the age range of people who became hawkers in these streets.

Benson highlights that street selling both helped the poor and provided a service to the growing urban populations of towns. It is important to note that since poor people were able to buy goods in small quantities, they had access to goods that would have been beyond their reach if buying in large amounts. Throughout the country, the numbers of hawkers fluctuated week to week and season to season making it in Benson's mind difficult to say for definite how many worked as hawkers. He adds that there was no numerical decline in street trading during the second half of the nineteenth century and it was a profession that attracted all age groups. However, the weather, inexperience and illness could all affect the trade.[438] Aside from these obstacles, at times hawkers were moved on by the police and there were complaints of harassment which all undoubtedly had a knock-on effect on trade.

Benson continues to explain that both beer-houses and corner shops were also commonplace in British towns. Some of the better off neighbours opened them up after saving to finance the conversion or widows were inclined to adopt this profession. Often if there was an industrial accident, the victims' friends/workmates or parish authorities would help them establish a business, once again showing the Irish commitment to helping one another; undoubtedly there was a loyalty to their neighbours. In Huddersfield, there does not seem to be any proof of this happening since there is only one reference to a Beer House keeper, Patrick Mahon a 33year old who lived in Post Office Yard, Town Centre North with his brother a labourer.[439]

Benson agrees with the notion that the Irish were very helpful to one another: 'It is not always appreciated that in urban areas, too, the poor continued to display a considerable

[438] Benson, *The Penny Capitalists*, p.102.
[439] Census Enumerator Returns, Huddersfield Town Centre North, 1851, HO 107/2295 - RO 264/11/60.

degree of community consciousness.[440]He argues that this was not only an Irish trait but was something the Scottish, Welsh and Irish immigrants tended to do when they migrated to England.

In Silk Street, in the Town Centre North, Huddersfield, there were few hawkers to be found. Instead, some Irish people were involved in the tailoring trade, for instance the Patterson family, the father was an old clothes dealer and his eldest son was an apprentice draper.[441] In Union Street, there were two tailors, Henry Devlin and Martha Kenon.[442] This raises the question, did certain professions choose to live within close vicinity of one another or was it just mere coincidence that this occurred?

The opening of beer houses by the Irish shows that it was not beyond their capability to make a counter and open their front door and even more importantly it didn't require much capital to set up such a business.[443] It also displays the entrepreneurial skills of some people and their willingness to save to finance the establishment of their own business. However, the lack of evidence in the Huddersfield census returns suggests that the Irish in the area were not as entrepreneurial as those of other towns and cities. There were of course a few exceptions, since Patrick Brennan of Kirkgate was a greengrocer [444] and Mark Freeman was a fish dealer of Kirkmoor Place.[445] Both these occupations suggest that the men were in a different financial position to their peers. However, aside from the odd exceptions, on the whole, jobs listed were low paying and required little training. Pooley

[440] Benson, *The Working Class*, p. 131.
[441] Census Enumerator Returns, Huddersfield Town Centre North - Silk Street, HO 107/2295 - RO 237/10/47.
[442] Ibid., Union Street, RO 171/7/113, RO 170/7/106.
[443] Benson, *The Penny Capitalists*, p. 114 - 115.
[444] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre North – Kirkgate, HO 107/2295 - RO 275/11/122/
[445] Ibid., Kirkmoor Place, HO 107/2295 -RO 190/8/64.

disagrees; he argues that only small sums of money were required to deal in either food, clothes or to keep an ale house.[446]

Table 4.3 looks at Boulder's Yard in Town Centre North (see p. 314) and the occupations of the families living there. Labouring appears to have been the predominant occupation. (see map showing where Boulder's Yard was, p. 211). Clearly both married and single men adopted labouring as a profession. Some families were drawn into the same jobs. For instance, the Donnellys, the father and two of his sons were boot and shoemakers, two of the daughters were knitters. Similarly, both Patrick Neland and his son James were hawkers. Obviously, it was not unusual that families should continue professions and the younger person could have been the apprentice of the senior member of the family. Other information gleaned is that both families and single people lived there. There is again evidence that family sizes were small, people took in lodgers, there were inter-marriages like the Costellos and families came to the town both before and after the famine.

During the nineteenth century, there were massive changes both socially and economically in towns. According to one historian, 'The labouring classes went through a period between 1815 and 1850 when wage rates were being driven down through the influx of cheap labour from Ireland.'[447] However, there appears to be no definite evidence of this happening in Huddersfield. Accepting lower wages by the Irish would explain why there was a growing animosity in some towns towards the immigrants. If the workers were willing to work for a lower wage than the locals, this would result in the locals losing their jobs as employers would understandably employ the cheaper worker. 'Public attacks upon their religion in the press, physical attacks upon their persons and property by their neighbours

[446] Colin Gilbert, Pooley, 'Migration, Mobility & Residential Areas in Nineteenth Century Liverpool' (Unpublished Phd. Thesis, 1978), p. 110.
[447] John Hickey, *Urban Catholics: Urban Catholicism in England and Wales from 1829 to the present day* (London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1967), p. 34.

and workmates and their relegation by the authorities to the lowest position on the social scale, produced the inevitable reaction amongst the immigrants. The development of the Catholic immigrant communities in Britain follows a common pattern – withdrawal as far as possible from contact with their neighbours and the building of an independent community life.'[448] This conveys the view that the Irish were not welcomed and retreated into their own community to evade the animosity and hostility they endured from the local populace.

'Unskilled labour was required for the construction of docks, railways and industrial plants and the Irish immigrants were plentiful and suitable.'[449] Hickey said that 'the Irish workman was superior to the English or Scottish.'[450] This was an interesting viewpoint considering the Irish were not welcomed by many people. Obviously employers were delighted with the willingness of the Irish to take on jobs that other people didn't want. Why were the Irish willing to do this? The wages were better than those that they were used to in Ireland. 'Although the native British workmen did not have a high standard of living, the Irish were prepared to accept an even lower standard.'[451] Here again is another reason why employers welcomed the Irish, paying them lower wages increased their profits enormously. He too suggests that the Irish were beer housekeepers, pedlars and had a tendency to keep lodging houses. Lees supports this argument and found that the Irish who could save money in the early 1860s became either landlords or shopkeepers.[452]

The life of the Irish worker, in Hickey's mind, was hard but it must be pointed out that he was talking about their life in general in Britain rather than specifically in Huddersfield. 'Work was arduous and hours were long, and the facilities for recreation for working families in the new towns were few. For many husbands and wives their only

[448] Hickey, *Urban Catholics*, p. 55.
[449] Ibid., p. 41.
[450] Ibid.
[451] Ibid., p. 42.
[452] Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p.120.

escape from the dreary monotony of their everyday existence was to be found in the public houses, where alcohol was plentiful and cheap. Hence drunkenness was a much more prominent feature of town life.'[453] As highlighted in Chapter 3, such behaviour did not endear the Irish worker to their English neighbour who was already resentful of them taking their jobs and accepting lower wages than they were willing to.

Not all questions on the employment of the Irish are answered using the census returns. Nonetheless, the existence of a Vagrant Office in Town Centre South West provides precise information on the 29 people living there and tells us where those people came from. [454]

Table 4.4: Listing of Irish Vagrants in Huddersfield[455]

Name:	Age	Job	Place of Birth
George Brown	28	Rail Labourer	Longford
James Brown	23	Labourer	Monaghan
William Burnes	23	Coal-Miner	Cavan
John Camel	25	Agricultural Labourer	Louth
Michael Canon	11	Agricultural Labourer	Galway
James Carney	32	Labourer	Westmeath
Martin Collins	30	Labourer	Kildare
Bridget Dacy	18	Farm Servant	Galway
John Farrel	37	Rail Labourer	Roscommon
James Farrel	17	Agricultural Labourer	Leitrim
John Flanaghan	18	Agricultural Labourer	Galway
John Hogan	37	Agricultural Labourer	Clare
John Hanan	18	Agricultural Labourer	Roscommon
William Johnson	33	Rail Labourer	Kilkenny
Patrick McMerriman	45	Agricultural Labourer	Mayo
Michael Martin	30	Agricultural Labourer	Galway
John Morris	26	Rail Labourer	Dublin
John O'Bryan	35	Rail Labourer	King's County
Michael Quinn	18	Rail Labourer	Clare
William Riley	20	Agricultural Labourer	Mayo
Jane Scarlet	25	Farm Servant	Cavan
John Shaw	20	Agricultural Labourer	Mayo

[453] Hickey, *Urban Catholics*, p. 43.
[454] Census Enumerator Returns, Huddersfield Town Centre South-West 1851, Ho 107/2295, RO 458/18/59 & 457/18/59.
[455] Ibid.

William Ward	17	Agricultural Labourer	Westmeath
John Ward	18	Mason's Labourer	Mayo
John Ward	35	Rail Labourer	Roscommon
John Waylan	24	Agricultural Labourer	Dublin
Thomas Wilson	27	Rail Labourer	Wexford
John Wilson	39	Agricultural Labourer	Cavan
John Willis	27	Agricultural Labourer	Fermanagh

Who were the vagrants? The Oxford Dictionary defines vagrants as wandering, roving, strolling itinerants who were idle and disorderly people who were in danger of being imprisoned.[456] Clearly, these people were not very popular and being Irish would no doubt be another reason to regard them as a nuisance on the streets. An alternative definition for vagrancy was that 'it was a criminal offence of being intentionally unemployed and thereby neglecting to main himself or his family.'[457] Examples from the Vagrancy Act of 1824 are cited explaining that if someone is a vagrant, they could be committed to the House of Correction for hard labour for no longer than a month.[458] There is no doubt that the Vagrants were not trusted and viewed unfavourably.

The vagrants were primarily men, although there were a couple of women. Most of them were agricultural labourers with some being rail labourers. Perhaps there was an abundance of labourers available so their services were not required. They were in the main young ranging from as young as 11 to 39; there does not appear to be any mature vagrants. Many of the sample; were from the West of Ireland adding further evidence that the Irish in the area were from Connacht. Aside from vagrants, there were some paupers who only represented a small proportion of the Irish community. Both must have been features of English life too. Vagrancy was not merely an Irish phenomenon and clearly the introduction

[456] E. McIntosh, (ed.), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (London, Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 1435.
[457] www.duhaime.org./legaldictionary/v/vagrancy
[458] Ibid.

of the Vagrancy Act meant that it was considered a problem by the authorities that needed to be dealt with accordingly.

A picture is unfolding of what types of employment attracted the Irish in Huddersfield. There have already been comparisons made earlier in the chapter with employment in York, what happened elsewhere in Yorkshire? How does Bradford, another popular destination point, compare? Was life any different or were the Irish attracted to the same jobs that they were in Huddersfield?

Irish Employment in Bradford

In Bradford, the Irish were again drawn to live in the town centre where they were unskilled workers and accounted for nine per cent of the total population.[459] But what sort of jobs did they take and how did their situation compare to the Irish in Huddersfield? Were they attracted to the same types of jobs in both Yorkshire towns? In 1851, Koditschek observes that wool combing was particularly attractive job to the Irish.[460] David Ashworth substantiates this claim. 'In 1851, there were almost 1300 Irish hand wool-combers in the borough, and a strong prejudice existed against them.'[461] Hickey also believes that the job was especially appealing to the Irish immigrants and Table 4.5 provides further proof of this. (see p. 137) 'In Bradford, where it was claimed, in 1855, that there were about twenty thousand Irish, the immigrants were chiefly employed as woolcombers.'[462] In contrast, it does not have seemed to have featured really in Huddersfield.

[459] Theodore Koditschek, *Class Formation & Urban Industrial Society Bradford 1750 – 1850* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 558.
[460] Ibid.
[461] David Ashworth, ' The Treatment of Poverty in Bradford 1837 – 1871', in *Victorian Bradford*, Edited by D. G. Wright & J. A. Jowitt (Bradford, City of Bradford Libraries, 1982), p. 82.
[462] John Hickey, *Urban Catholics*, p. 51.

Table 4.5: Number of Wool combers in Bradford[463]

Street Name	Family Name	Occupation	Age	Points to Note:
Beck Street	Martin Madden	Wool comber	25	
Croft Street	Francis Maloney Pat Maloney John Maloney	Wool comber Wool comber Wool comber	40 16 19	
Edward Street	Richard Young	Wool comber	23	
Edward Street	Daniel Malone	Wool comber	25	Young's Lodger
Edward St	Thomas Marr	Wool comber	20	Young's Lodger
Granby Yard	Daniel Cullinane Mary Cullinane	Wool combers	34 31	
Hall Street	? Allen	Wool comber	?	Age and Christian name unknown
Back Mt St	William Roberts	Wool comber	25	
Lyndhurst St	John Sutcliffe	Wool comber	33	
Lyndhurst St	Mary Doran Bridget Doran Catherine Doran	Wool combers	20 18 16	
York Street	Mary-Ann Polland	Wool comber	25	Lodger

This sample of streets looked at Beck Street, Bridge St, Croft Street, Edward St, Granby Yard, Hall Street, Back Mount Street, Fold, Laisterdyke, Leeds Rd, Lyndhurst St, Russell St, Duggan Union St and York St. There were 36 Irish families listed in the sample. Of these, 17 were wool combers, confirming that there were indeed wool combers in Bradford. Not only were the Irish in the area wool combers, they were involved in the textile trade too. Likewise, in Huddersfield, the census returns shows that there were woollen pickers, weavers to name but a few of the jobs that were textile related. When Nolan argues that the Irish did not work in textiles, he means they did not work in factories or mills and ignored those people that worked in th ir own homes.

Records & Reminiscences of St. Patrick's Church Bradford 1853 – 1903, claims that the Irish population accounted for a sizeable proportion of the Catholic population and were

[463] Census Enumerator Sheets, Bradford, 1851, HO 107/2306.

responsible for the growth of the Catholic Church in the town.[464] The Irish were attracted to towns where there was work available and left Ireland because of the Famine. 'The number of Catholics in St. Patrick's district at the end of 1863 must have been considerably over 4,000 souls, most of them from Ireland. Driven from their beloved land by the terrible famine of 1840, they sought refuge on the shores of England and spread all over the country, the greatest bulk of them settling down in the towns where work was plentiful.'[465] As elsewhere, the Irish were attracted to the town because of the work available. But why were the Irish willing to take jobs that others didn't want? It has already been explained they were driven by a need to provide for their families.

John Hickey elaborates even further that 'the most violently expressed opposition to the newcomers came from their immediate neighbours – the working people with whom they had to share the same areas in the towns. The basis of this opposition ….. English workmen regarded the influx of Irishmen as a threat to their livelihood and to the living standards which they were struggling to achieve. The immigrants did not 'fit in 'with their neighbours – they did not share the same background or the same aspirations. They had come from conditions of degradation and semi-starvation and were prepared to accept little in return for the opportunity to work and to support their families. The result was that they were ready to accept wages and conditions of work which were quite unacceptable to the native workmen. The employers, in many cases, were quick to recognise this and used Irish labour to lower rates of pay and to break strikes.'[466] In Huddersfield, this does not seem to have been a problem except for the one incident already referred to in chapter 3.

[464] John Earnshaw, *Records & Reminisicences of St. Patrick's Church Bradford 1853 – 1903* (Bradford, Cornthwaite & Raistrick, 1903), p. 62.
[465] Ibid.
[466] Hickey, *Urban Catholics*, p. 53.

Taking into account Hickey's views, the Irish's plight in England was so much better than home and being loyal to their family was seen to be important. This explains why children were presumably willing to work from a young age to help subsidise the family income. 'Sending children into the labour force at a very early age was a common decision of Irish migrants.'[467] It is argued that the Irish were manipulated by the employers who used their eagerness to find employment to increase their profits and when strikes occurred used the Irish workers to fill the English jobs which definitely heightened tensions between the Irish and the English residents. Again, there is no obvious evidence of this in Huddersfield.

David James wrote that 'The Irish lived in the worst of the slums and generally had the least popular, most ill-paid jobs, many of them becoming hand combers in the very years when this job was being replaced by machinery.'[468] From this it is again clear, that the Irish took jobs that no one else wanted and did this due to their urgency to provide for their needs and their families and that they lived in poor accommodation in all the Yorkshire towns mentioned. This too explains why so many Irish took low paying jobs like hawking and labouring in Huddersfield, Leeds, York and Bradford.

The graph on p.141 shows two areas in Bradford and comparisons and similarities will be made with the findings of Huddersfield. Admittedly, it is only a small sample since only certain streets in Bradford have been analysed. Even so, it is possible to build up a picture on employment. One of the areas examines the occupations of the Irish in Mount Street, Hall Street, Beck St, Croft St, Lyndhurst Street and Leeds Road; there were 49 people in the sample. The second once more examines occupations of the Irish but this time in Bridge St, Union St, York St, Granby Yard, Russell St, Croft Street and Edward St. There were many weavers and scholars, unemployed children, particularly on Mount Street. There

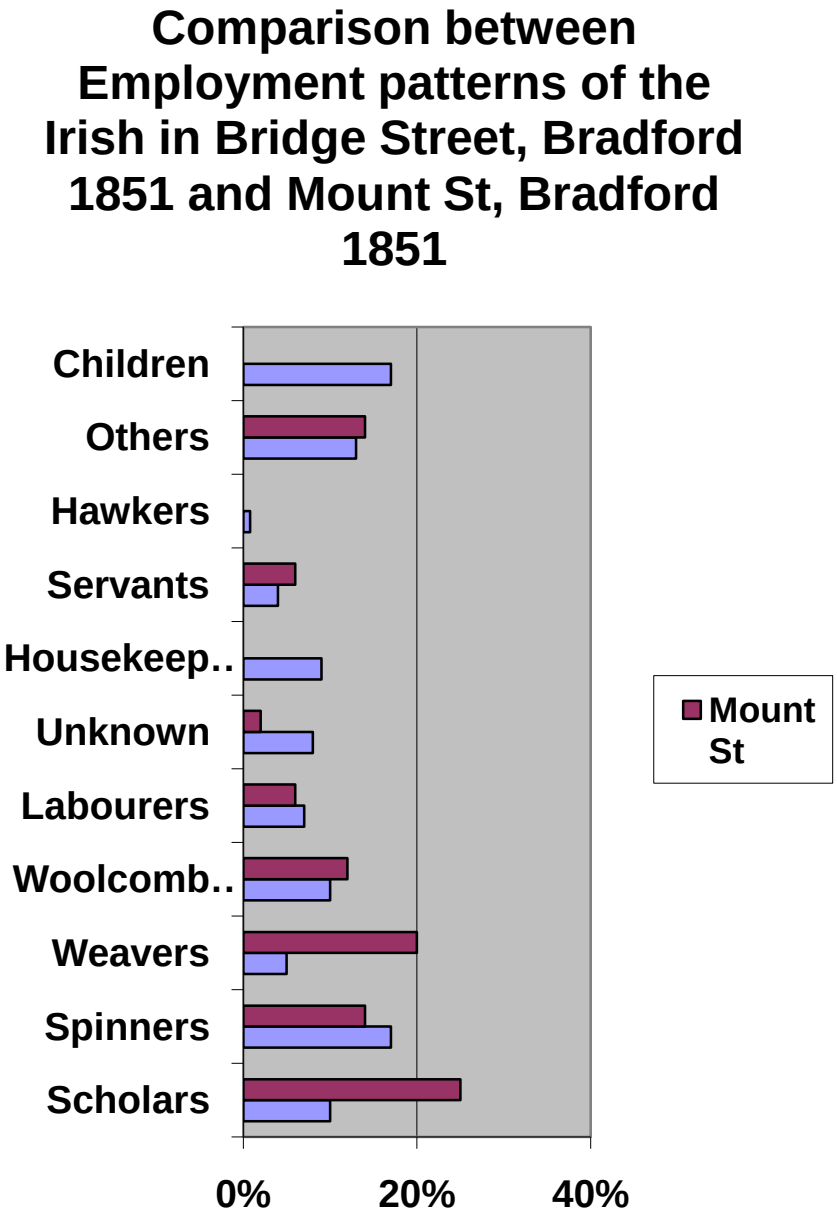
[467] Mayhew, Henry, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London, Penguin Books, 1985), p. 109.
[468] David James, *Bradford* (Halifax, Ryburn Publishing Ltd, 1990), p. 84

were housekeepers solely in the Bridge Street area, where weavers too featured prominently. Interestingly, there were no hawkers to be found on Mount Street.[469]

The largest employer appears to be the woollen industry as 14 per cent were spinners, 12 per cent were wool combers, eight per cent were power loom weavers and two per cent were hand loom weavers, while a further eight per cent were weavers. Other jobs listed seem individual and no common practice seems to occur. In addition, there was one person who it is unknown what they would be classed as and interestingly only one person was unemployed. Other jobs featured were a dresser, both mason and agricultural labourers, washerwoman, pauper, shoe maker, medicine vendor and six per cent were servants.[470]

There was less accuracy in Bridge Street details as there were far more people whose employment details were merely classified as unknown. However, the textile trade was prevalent in both areas and domestic service was not very popular in either. Bridge St is a better sample since there were 113 Irish people living in this area.[471] Only four per cent were servants, which constitutes as a very small percentage, whilst ten per cent were scholars. Woolcombing, weaving, spinners and house wives seem to be the most popular types of employment. Seventeen per cent were children and again individual jobs occur – hawker, washer woman, tailor, dressmaker, grocer, wool spinner, shoe maker, book binder, equestrian, pub landowner. Some of these jobs appear unusual for an Irish worker for example equestrian and a pub landowner sounds much grander than a beer house keeper.

[469] Census Enumerator Returns, Bridge Street & Mount Street, Bradford, 1851, HO 107/2306.
[470] Ibid., Mount St, Hall St, Beck St, Croft St, Leeds Rd and Fold, Laisterdyke, HO 107/2306.
[471] Ibid., Bridge St, Union St, York St, Granby Yard, Russell St, Croft Street and Edward St., Bradford, 1851.



In summary, based on the evidence in Graph 1, (see p.122), it can be seen that hawking was more popular in Huddersfield than in Bradford. Similarly, printing and shoe making were much more prevalent in Huddersfield. Factory workers only seem to feature in Huddersfield; whilst there is no mention of either housekeeper or wives. Aside from these differences, there does seem to be a common pattern in both Huddersfield and Bradford, the same jobs do seem to feature although in some areas more so than others. Another shared trait was that there were few Irish paupers recorded. The category scholars are only really

highlighted in Bradford. Again, there are odd jobs featured proving their commitment to work in both areas. Fortunately there were only a few occasions when people were categorised as 'unknown' meaning that a more accurate picture is established of what they did for a living. Hawking, labouring, servants, paupers, scholars appear in both Huddersfield and Bradford, but statistics vary depending on their individual needs. In both, it was necessary to categorise some jobs as 'others' when there were insignificant numbers working in the position.

What type of life, then, did the Irish lead? Interestingly, Helen and David Kennally argue that 'many Irish families in Leeds were desperate. If they could not find work and applied for poor relief, they became liable for deportation unless they could prove five years' residence in the Poor Law Union concerned, the Guardians could order their removal to their parish of origin in Ireland.'[472] Such a situation must have been a cause of great concern when people had raised sufficient funds to get them to Leeds only then to be returned home. The Kennallys claim that sometimes people were illegally removed. If they did qualify for relief, they were abused for it.

Patrick Fitzgerald explains that there was a similar policy in Liverpool. In fact, from 1846, the Board of Poor Law Guardians in Liverpool tried to curtail the number of Irish fleeing the famine. They wanted to make it harder for the poor Irish to travel to Liverpool and sought that the fare should be raised. Fitzgerald explains that paupers chose to go to Liverpool since it was a cheaper option than the cost of travelling to America. In 1849, the Liverpool board met with the Glasgow board and other Scottish groups to put pressure on

[472] Helen & David Kennally, 'From Roscrea to Leeds: An Emigrant community', *Tipperary Historical Journal*, (1992), (ed. Marcus Bourke), p. 125.

the government. These particular boards met as people from the North of Ireland went to Scotland, whilst Liverpool was attractive to those from the south and west of Ireland.[473]

Frank Neal provides additional information on Liverpool and highlights that many of the Irish that came to Liverpool in 1847 were not just poor but were destitute. Their hosts had a statutory obligation to provide relief meaning food, clothing and medical assistance. The poor law guardians were known as the select vestry and were elected annually by the rate payers into their position. Before the Famine, the only people entitled to receive assistance were those who had been born in a parish. From August 1846, the law had changed so that if you could prove you had lived in a parish for five years, you were entitled to relief. 'The Famine Irish had no such rights to relief and no protection against removal.'[474] The assistance available to them was either the workhouse or money and tickets for food and clothes. At home, the only help available was the workhouse. Consequently, going to the workhouse was the loathed option, thus many of the Irish in Liverpool opted for money and tickets. The city was unable to cope with the amount of Irish seeking assistance and there were not enough relief officers to deal with the claims. A downturn in the economy meant that the English, Welsh and Scots were also in need of help. In June 1847, the authorities began to clear the cellars and send the Irish back to Ireland.[475] Is there any evidence of this happening in Huddersfield?

What was life like for the Irish in Huddersfield?

Clearly the forced repatriation of the Irish elsewhere in Britain displays the attitude of the 'host' community to the Irish. Did it have a knock-on effect in Huddersfield and does it explain why so few Irish were recorded as paupers or on Parish relief? In the *Huddersfield*

[473] David Fitzgerald, 'The Great Hunger? Irish Famine Changing patterns of Crisis', in *The Hungry Stream: Essays on Emigration & Famine*, (ed. E. Margaret Crawford) (Belfast, Nicholson & Bass Ltd, 1997), pps. 109 – 110.
[474] Frank Neal, 'Black '47: Liverpool and the Irish Famine', in *The Hungry Stream*, pps. 125 – 126.
[475] Ibid., p. 131.

Examiner there is evidence of a person being shipped back to Ireland but the circumstances appear to have been more human. Julia Carney already referred to in Chapter 3 (see p. 106) was unable to pay a fine and instead of being sent to prison, she requested to be sent home; the court complied. Visibly, Julia being sent to Ireland to avoid prison contradicts what Neal and Fitzgerald argue happened in Liverpool. On the whole, over a four-year period, there was only one reference in the *Huddersfield Examiner* to an Irish person being sent home. This suggests that there was perhaps more tolerance of the Irish there or else it was because the Irish were not as 'work-shy' in Huddersfield compared to other places like Liverpool. All the same, the magistrates were not very sympathetic when faced with Irish beggars who were generally rewarded with a stay in Wakefield House of Correction.

Photo 1: Swallow's Shop in 1910 [476]

[476] www.kirkleesimage.org.uk – Shows what shops were like at the turn of the century

What were occupational structures like?

The types of jobs held by the Irish referred to in graph 1, (see p. 121), have already been examined but how did occupational structures compare with other towns? Despite the relatively small numbers of Irish people living in the Huddersfield area, it is clear that there were significant differences between the numbers employed in various jobs in different parts of the town. There appears to be no general pattern. Admittedly, many of the same occupations did occur but the statistics appear to vary and labourers are more visible in some areas moreso than others. In the following graphs, each area will be examined to see if there were similarities or differences in the town centre and outlying areas. Pie-Chart 1 covers Town Centre South East.

Pie-Chart 1:

EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE OF THE IRISH: HUDDERSFIELD: TOWN CENTRE SOUTH EAST: 1851

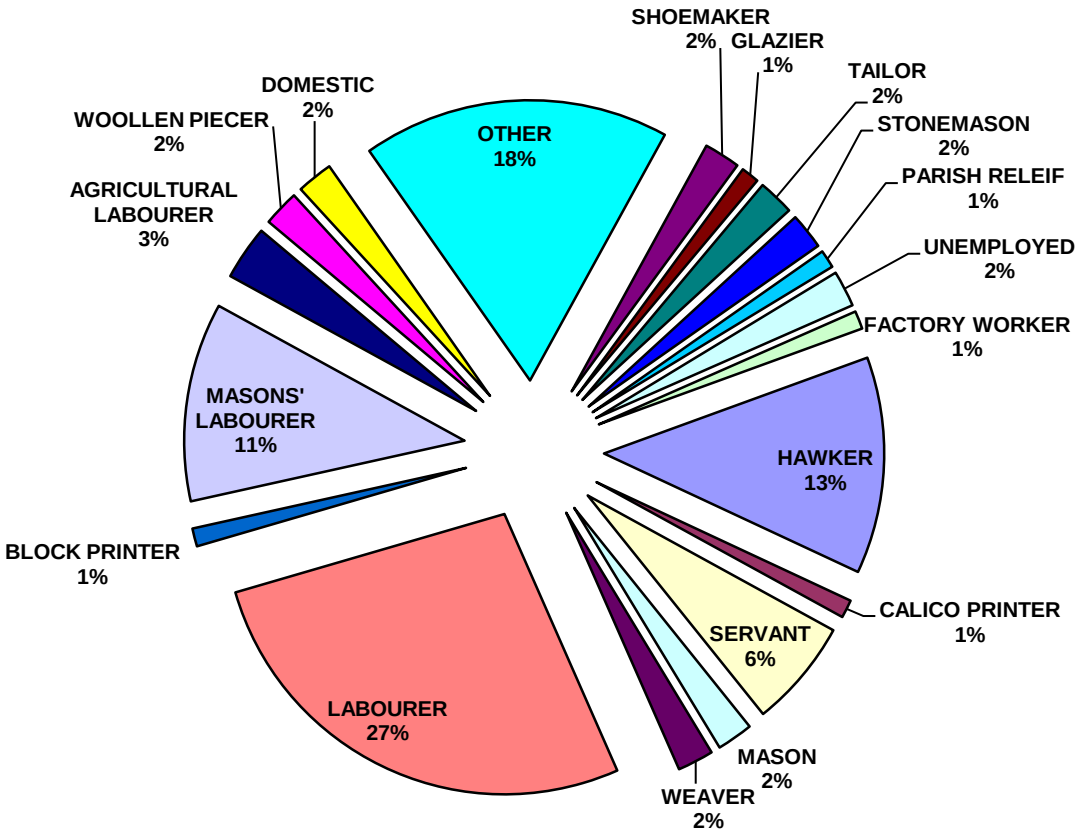


Table 4.6: Numbers and types of Jobs held by the Irish

Huddersfield Town Centre South-East	
Occupation:	**Number that held that position:**
Labourers	53
Others	36
Hawkers	25
Mason's Labourers	22
Servants	12
Agricultural Labourers	6
Shoemaker	5
Domestic	5
Stonemason	5
Unemployed	5
Weaver	5
Tailor	4
Mason	4
Woollen Piecer	4
Block Printer	3
On Parish Relief	3
Calico Printer	3
Glazier	3
Factory Worker	3
Number of Irish living in the area:	**206**

Understandably it was advantageous for hawkers to live in the town centre as they were within easy accessibility of the market place which was particularly useful when selling cumbersome items. Neither unemployment nor parish relief were popular since only three were on Parish Relief, whilst only five people were listed as unemployed. Just like the agricultural labourers in York, the coal miner would have had to travel to the outskirts of the town to the mines to work. Going into service did not really feature in this area. Similarly, there were textile jobs but none on a large scale. There was references made to a teaser, woollen merchant, woollen mill worker and three factory workers but due to their insignificant numbers, it was easier to collect these occupations as 'other' positions rather than as a single group. Odd jobs featured like warehouseman, cap maker, plasterer, woollen

merchant, one person worked in a woollen mill, tinner and brazier and even a cloth salesman. Yet again as there were only one person working in the job in each instant, they were collected together as an 'others' category.

In the Town Centre South East, it is apparent that there were big differences between the social conditions of the Irish. Labouring was the chief employer, followed by hawking.The suggestion is that considering so few were unemployed or on parish relief combined with the high numbers of workers in the 'others' category further proves the Irish were not 'work-shy'.[477] The town centre lured the Irish as it provided employment, lodgings and most probably accessibility to the workplace. There is further evidence that labouring was popular in Table 4.7 (see p.316) similarly few were on parish relief. Single people tended to occupy these streets and if there were families, none again seem relatively large considering only the Kergons had four children. What was it like elsewhere in the town?

In Huddersfield Town Centre North, see **(Pie-Chart 2,)**, labouring, hawking and the 'others' category were prominent. A complete picture cannot be made of employment considering there is no information on what fifteen people did for a living.

[477] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield 1851, Town Centre South-East, HO 107/2295, Folios 1 – 150.

Pie-Chart 2:

EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE OF THE IRISH:
HUDDERSFIELD TOWN CENTRE NORTH: 1851

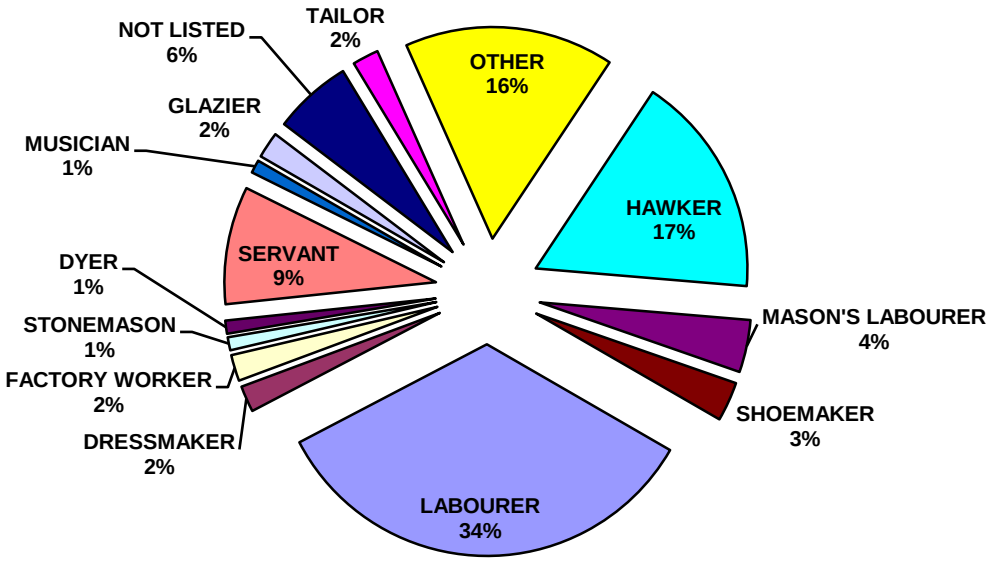


Table: 4.8 Numbers and Types of Jobs held by the Irish

HUDDERSFIELD TOWN CENTRE NORTH	
Labourers	80
Hawkers	42
Not listed	15
Mason's Labourers	10
Shoemakers	5
Dressmakers	4
Factory Workers	4
Stonemasons	3
Others	69
Glaziers	6
Dyers	3
Musicians	3
Total Number of Irish	**244**

The census returns provide little proof that the Irish opted for the life of a mill worker in Huddersfield. Perhaps Michael Nolan, as already discussed was correct; they did not have either the necessary skills or preferred not to work inside. However, a more important reason was that adult males were not usually employed in mills. In addition, the

textile trade was located in the Pennine valleys and as already indicated the Irish were drawn to the town where they had a monopoly on hawking.[478] Further to this, contrary to Nolan's claims, Irish children do not seem to have been employed in textiles. Understandably, when they first arrived, the main priority was to secure employment for the the father first and others in the family after.

Pie-Chart 2 for Huddersfield shows that there were a variety of jobs listed like a musician, ostler and furnace man. Some Irish were glaziers and dressmakers. Again the range of jobs reaffirms their commitment to working.[479] Interestingly unlike York, agricultural work was not popular. In Huddersfield Town Centre South West labouring again appears, this time in different forms; ranging from ordinary labourers to railway labourers and mason's labourers. In addition, there were also a significant number of hawkers and servants. Once more, those who worked in 'others' jobs were from assorted fields. Jobs varied from a nurse, to a fruit dealer, rag and bone collector, dressmaker, groom to a prisoner. Clearly, from these examples alone, some Irish people took unusual jobs compared to their neighbours. There was even an Irish Methodist Minister living in the area. Interestingly, there was a reference to a Licensed Victualler. This title sounds far superior to the usual beer housekeeper. Other major occupations were vagrancy, hawking and domestic service. There were 29 vagrants, 34 servants and 33 hawkers listed in the sample of 283 jobs.

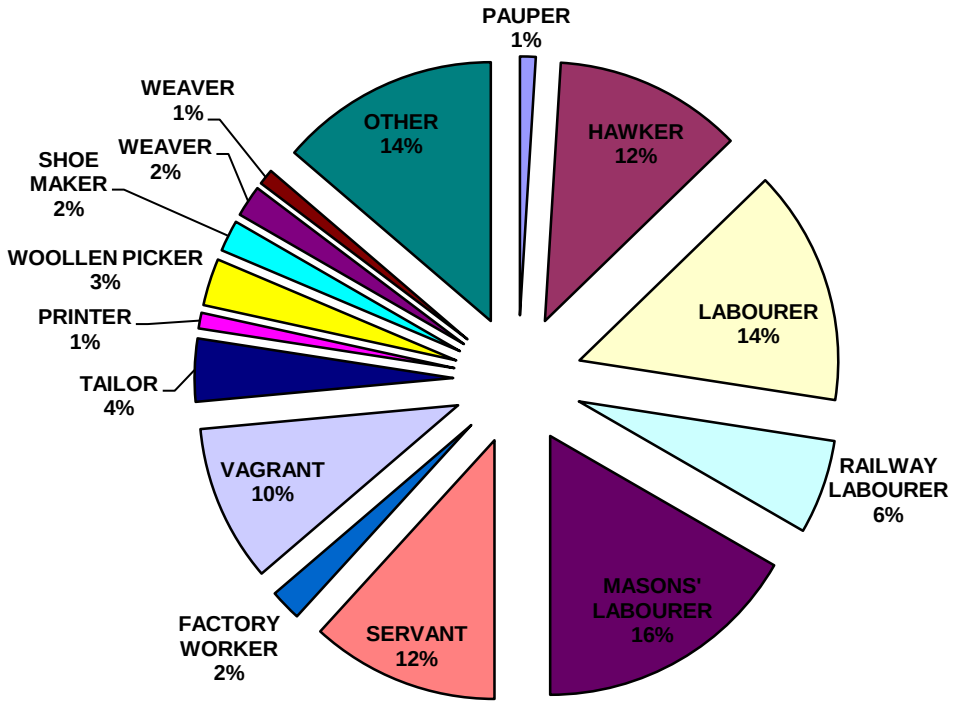
[478] Nolan, 'The Irish in Huddersfield', p. 12, 15.
[479] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851, Town Centre North, HO 107/2295, Folios 151 - 310.

Table: 4.9 Numbers and Types of Jobs held by the Irish

Huddersfield Town Centre South-West	
Occupation:	**Number that held that position:**
Others	49
Mason's Labourers	46
Labourers	43
Servants	34
Hawkers	33
Vagrants	29
Railway Labourers	16
Tailors	12
Woollen Picker	8
Factory Worker	7
Shoemaker	6
No. of Irish living in the area:	**283**

Pie-Chart 3:

EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE OF THE IRISH:
HUDDERSFIELD TOWN CENTRE SOUTH WEST



In light of the small numbers of Irish living outside the town centre, the information has been collated into Graph 2 so that comparisons can be easily made between the three areas.

Graph 2:

EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE OF THE IRISH:
LINDLEY, KIRKBURTON & LINTHWAITE

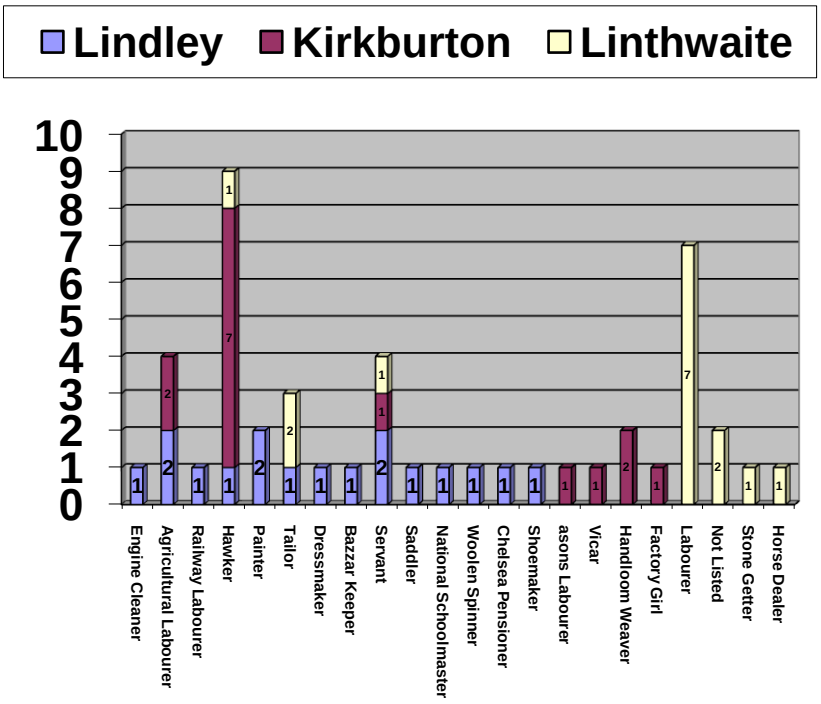


Table 4.10: Types and Numbers of Jobs held by the Irish in Lindley, Kirkburton & Linthwaite

Occupations	**Lindley**	**Kirkburton**	**Linthwaite**
Hawkers	1	7	1
Servants	2	1	1
Tailors	1	0	2
Engine Cleaner	1	0	0
Agricultural Labourers	2	2	0
Railway Labourers	1	0	0
Painter	2	0	0
Dressmaker	1	0	0
Bazaar Keeper	1	0	0
Saddler	1	0	0
Chelsea Pensioner	1	0	0
National Schoolmaster	1	0	0
Shoemaker	1	0	0
Mason's Labourer	0	1	0
Vicar	0	1	0
Handloom Weaver	0	2	0
Factory Girl	0	1	0
Labourers	0	0	7
Not listed	0	0	2
Stone Getter	0	0	1
Horse Dealer	0	0	1
Woollen Spinner	1	0	0
Number of Irish living in the Area	**17**	**15**	**15**

Kirkburton, Lindley and Linthwaite are all very similar as they had very few Irish living in their areas. In total there were 47 people meaning that the average number was 15 people. Such small figures make the percentages appear greater. It is more than likely that there were few Irish in these locations because there was work available in the town centre. The town centre also offered a network of friends and relatives close to hand and more importantly for others easy access to spiritual guidance.

In Lindley, there seems to be no particular job that outshines the others, instead there were small numbers who did a variety of occupations. Hawking was understandably not as popular there since there would have been little passing trade. Lack of job

opportunities seems to explain why there was so few Irish living in outlying areas and yet again the types of jobs taken were very varied. There was even a National Schoolmaster living in the area.

In Linthwaite, see the Table 4.11 (see p. 318) in a small study, there were seven labourers within the Irish families. Admittedly, it is a very small sample but once again there is evidence that lodging was the most commonplace type of renting by the Irish families and that they opted for certain jobs.On the whole, people listed that were married had at least one child born in the town which gives a slight indication of how long they had been living in the area for.[480] Certain jobs were favoured. Visibly, labouring, hawking and servants are jobs which definitely occur both within and outside the town.

What about other outlying areas? In the Greenhead, Springwood area, there were 235 Irish people, which is a large proportion of the Irish population in Huddersfield. There were an astonishing number of 70 hawkers; 30 per cent of the workforce. Presumably they must have sold their goods locally or in the town centre. Aside from hawkers, there were labourers, 34 mason's labourers and 32 labourers. The jobs in the 'others' category again were very diverse. The existence of the school mistress and master, a Unitarian minister shows that there were a few Protestants living in this district. Interestingly, there was a surgeon, who was probably akin to being a barber. Given that there was only one farm labourer this insinuates that it was not an agricultural area. The railways once more were not a popular job option seeing that there were only four railway labourers living there. There was, however, a reference to a navvy who may have possibly worked on the canals. There is evidence of people working in textiles seeing as there were listings for a woollen weaver,

[480] Again surnames are wrongly spelt such as Dagnon, McColem, Dunotura, Brunnigan and Mc Dermic. Here again are clear signs that the enumerators had difficulties recording the Irish surnames.

piecer, woollen piecer, cloth finisher. In spite of these examples, Nolan was correct in his assertion that there were not very many people working in textiles.

Once more a full picture is not acquired considering it is not known what eleven people did for a living. Hawking and labouring were yet again the most favoured jobs. Although there were 14 people employed in domestic service, it was not that popular. The most notable feature of this area is the diversity of the jobs in the 'others' category. Some of the jobs appear to require skill but at that time, they may have merely have been given elegant titles but may not have been as highly skilled as today.

Table 4.12: Types & Numbers of Jobs held by the Irish in Greenhead, Springwood, 1851[481]

Occupations:	**Numbers that held the Position**
Hawkers	70
Others	66
Mason's Labourers	34
Labourers	32
Servants	14
Not listed	11
Railway Labourers	4
Dressmakers	4
Total Number of Irish living in the area:	**235**

Many of the jobs that are recorded in these examples raise visions of people working for a low wage considering many were menial and thus had little earning potential. Some of the jobs cited such as - washerwoman, doormat maker and a rag and bone collector do not conjure images of having the capability to earn sufficient income to provide for a family. It is therefore no surprise that people struggled to survive with jobs like these and in turn they were unable to escape the dire poverty and poor accommodation that they were living in. Frank Neal confirms that the Irish tended to secure casual employment which generally

[481] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851, Greenhead, Springwood, HO 107/2295, Folios 472 - 623.

meant low wages. Consequently, 'low income and intermittent employment followed a number of consequences guaranteed to produce a wretched lifestyle, the necessity to enter the bottom end of the housing market, overcrowding, lack of water and sanitation, poor diet, minimal furniture, endemic typhus and epidemic cholera.'[482] Clearly, it was impossible for the Irish to better themselves when they were earning such a low income.

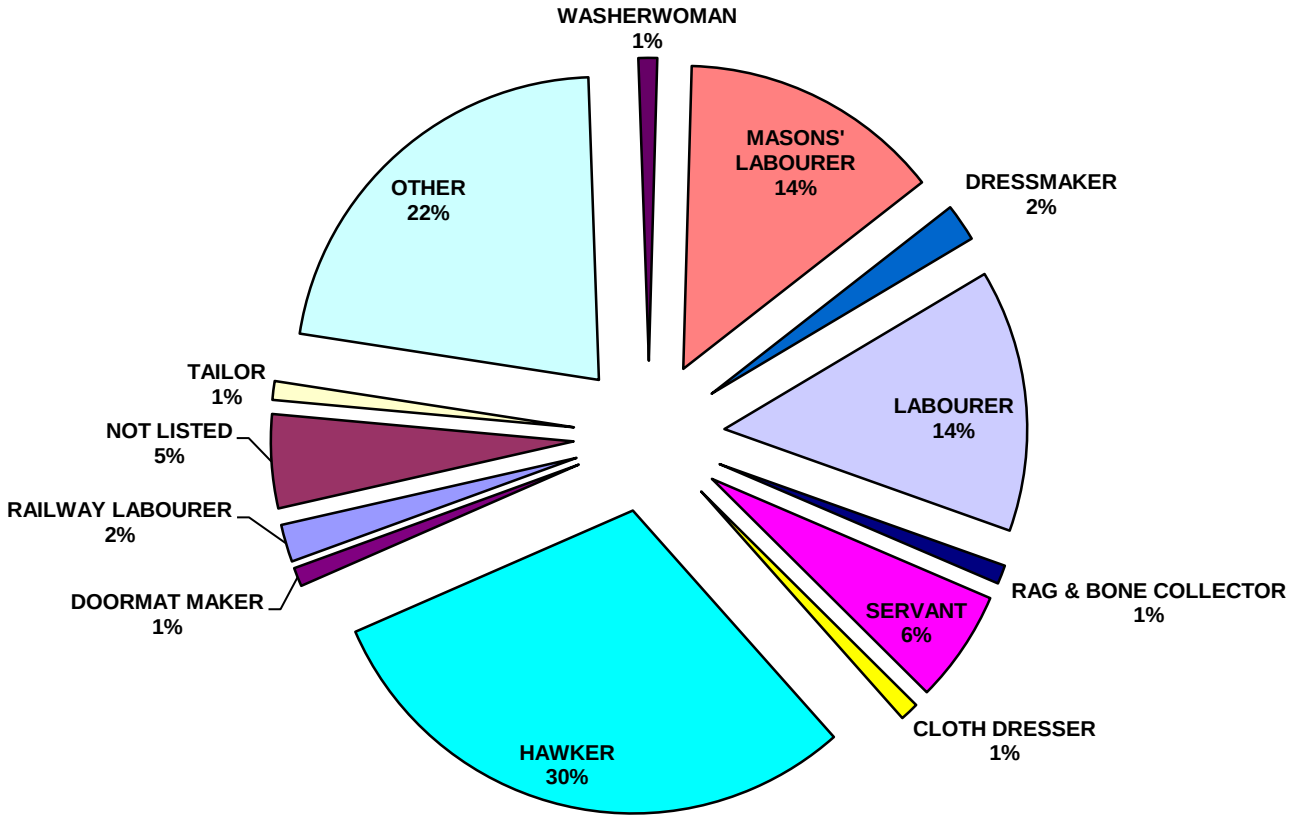
Photo 2: King's Head, King St, Huddersfield 1900[483]

(Gives an idea of what streets were like and how close people lived to one another)

[482] Frank Neal, *Black '47: Britain and the Famine Irish* (Basingstoke, Macmillan Press, 1998), p. 13.
[483] www.kirkleesimages.org.uk

Pie-Chart 4:

EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE OF THE IRISH: HUDDERSFIELD: GREENHEAD, SPRINGWOOD: 1851



Pie-Chart 5:

EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE OF THE IRISH IN LONGROYD, LOCKWOOD AND LEPTON, 1851.

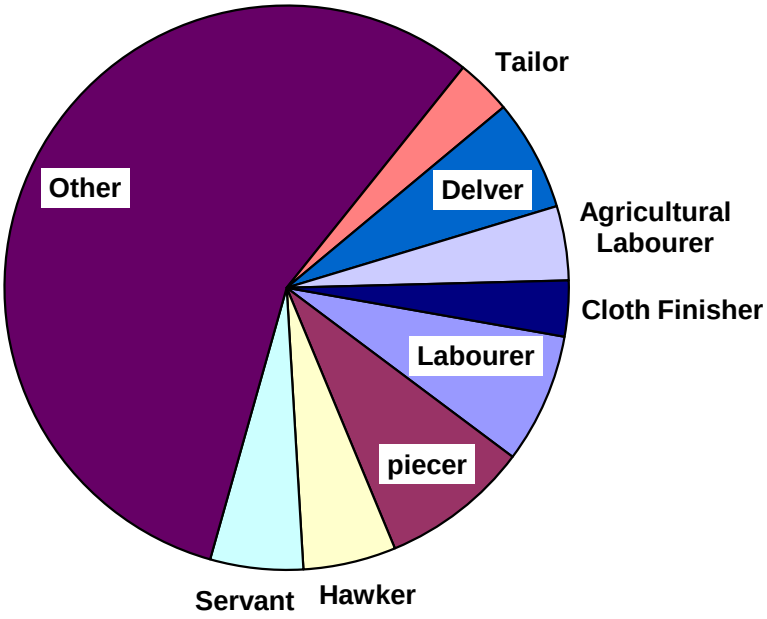


Table 4.13 Types & Numbers of Jobs held by the Irish in Longroyd, Lockwood & Lepton, 1851

Occupations	Longroyd	Lockwood & Lepton
Others	28	24
Tailors	1	2
Delvers	1	6
Agricultural Labourers	0	4
Labourers	4	3
Cloth Finishers	2	1
Piecers	8	0
Hawkers	4	1
Servants	2	3
Numbers of Irish	**50**	**44**

It is thus clear, that the Irish adopted a range of positions throughout the Huddersfield area. Without a doubt, workers secured jobs where there was a need for them and others were attracted to jobs that they had the necessary skills for. However, some historians argue that the Irish tended to adopt positions that needed little training which would explain why jobs like labouring and hawking were popular. In reality, both posts could be filled with no previous experience necessary. However, the census returns indicate that there were some jobs that did indeed require training such as tailoring. Therefore, not all Irish people worked in unskilled posts.

In the Lockwood and Lepton area there were 44 Irish people listed, whilst in Longroyd there were 50 people. More of an accurate picture will obviously occur when there are more people. Limited numbers could have distorted the situation in Linthwaite, Lindley and Kirkburton. In both areas, 'others' positions feature as the most significant occupation. In Lockwood of the 44 people recorded, there were six delvers, four agricultural labourers, three labourers, two wool dyers, two tailors, three servants and two general drapers. Other jobs represented in the area, were domestics, mason's labourer, a housekeeper, one unemployed person, one hawker only and a nurse to name but a few. Both hawking and labouring which feature prominently in other areas of the town are less popular. The existence of a nurse suggests that there was an educated person but like the earlier reference to a surgeon, the title may have been grander than the position.

Of the 50 Irish people recorded living in Longroyd, there were eight piecers, four labourers, two slubbers, no information on two, two servants, four hawkers, two cloth finishers and other jobs amounting to fifty-two per cent.[484] Other jobs mentioned is a Classical/Maths Teacher and Civil Eng St Holder which appear very different to the other listings. There was a vicar which once more shows that it was not all Irish Catholics living

[484] Slubbers were people who prepared wool for spinning according to the Oxford English Dictionary.

in Huddersfield and that there was an odd Protestant living in the town too. The existence of only one navvy is surprising considering the timing of when canals and railways were constructed but seems commonplace in the town of Huddersfield. As there were only a few hawkers, this suggests that it was a rural area where hawkers had limited earning power so they opted to live elsewhere. Single young Irish people appear to have been attracted to this area and their jobs ranged from gardener to servants.

In conclusion, what then have we learned about employment in Huddersfield? The assumption is that the reason why majority of the people lived in the Town Centre was because accommodation was available and they were within easy access of their workplace. It has often been argued that the Irish in Britain were keen to work for lower wages than their English counterparts which caused tension with the locals since it was perceived that the Irish were taking the English people's jobs. But there does not appear to be any evidence of this happening in Huddersfield.

From the census returns, it would seem that a small number of Irish were unemployed or paupers. In view of there only being one reference to an Irish prisoner in a lock-up in the Town Centre South West, this conveys it was perhaps not commonplace for prisoners to be held in the town. William Atkinson the 31 year old prisoner may have been held in the lock-up over night and from there would have been transferred to Wakefield House of Correction which was frequently referred to in Chapter 3 as the place where offenders were sent to. [485]

There was concern amongst some Irish people that they would be repatriated to Ireland in compliance with the requirements of the Poor Law in Leeds according to Helen and David Kennally. J. H. Treble supports this view, 'the Irish weaver during times of bad

[485] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield 1851, Town Centre South-West, HO 107/2295 - RO 341/14/34. (It is not known what crime he committed).

trade would be frequently faced with the choice of either accepting temporary relief from the local Poor Law officials and then being removed with his family back to Ireland.'[486] But, there is little evidence of this in Huddersfield. Since there were so few Irish paupers, this suggests that people did their best to avoid being in that situation and explains why such diverse jobs were taken by the Irish in the area.

Some of the jobs taken in town centre north for example were a cotton piecer, knitters, cordwainers, umbrella maker and fish dealer to name but a few. Similarly, in other areas there were all sorts of jobs listed but on such a small scale that it was not possible to individually plot them on the pie-charts. However, in addition to the paupers, there were Irish vagrants found in the town centre south-west.

Some jobs do appear to be popular amongst Irish people. Labouring appears in different forms. Hawking too was adopted but the numbers engaged in this activity varied greatly from area to area. Factory workers were scarce and formal textile work did not seem very widespread in Huddersfield compared to Bradford. Still, some Irish worked on textile type work in their own homes but not a worthy sizeable number that can be shown on the overall pie-chart of the town. Tailoring, servants, weaving and shoemakers area all occupations appeared in the returns. In short the Irish people took any job that they could so that they could earn money to provide for them and their families.

It is presumed because of the nature of the work which was largely unskilled, that the majority of these jobs were lowly paid and prevented the Irish worker from bettering themselves. Whilst, some Irish were entrepreneurs and opened their own beer houses, there were few beer houses owned by the Irish in Huddersfield. Maybe, the Irish in the area did not have the necessary funds available to facilitate the setting up of beer houses. Generally

[486] J. H. Treble, 'The Place of the Irish Catholics in the Social Life of the North of England 1829 – 51' (unpublished doctoral thesis, School of History, University of Leeds,1968), p. 99.

speaking, the earning ability of the Irish was low. Many were merely surviving which could explain why some of them got in trouble with the police and further to this living in the poorer sections of town may have been another motivating factor.

It would seem that the Irish were generally forced to take lowly paid jobs. Many were hawkers, only a few worked in factories, whilst others were employed as servants. Labouring in its various forms was common. There were vagrants and paupers along with a small percentage of tailors, printers and woollen pickers. As always, there were odd jobs that were covered but due to their low numbers it was necessary to collectively categorise them as 'others'. Some jobs were repeated in both the town centre and outlying areas. As there was fewer Irish living on the outskirts of the town, the percentages employed in the positions seem exaggerated. Hawking and labouring were the most favoured jobs in all parts of Huddersfield and substantiate the theory that the Irish took 'unskilled' jobs. Labouring, however, would have been work that they were akin to at home and thus they would have had the necessary skills already. The Irish workers secured whatever employment they could. Their main and ultimate aim was to survive and provide for their families. The poor employment opportunities of the Irish and their precarious lifestyle often led them to drink and conflict with the law, which may not have endeared them to the locals.

The employment in Huddersfield was therefore very diverse with the Irish employed not in any substantial number except in hawking and labouring. It may well be that, as we have seen, this meant that there was less hostility to the Irish then there were in several other towns like Liverpool and Bradford. Nevertheless, it is clear that religion and ethnicity were factors of divisiveness and that it was likely to isolate them from the rest of the community. The significance of religion to the Irish will be explored in greater depth in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5:

FAITH AND THE IRISH

'Life in nineteenth century Britain was for the Irish an often harsh and disorientating experience, and, because they were concentrated in towns and cities, the Irish stood out from their host population by their poverty, nationality, race and religion,' wrote Roger Swift who depicts a bleak image of the life of the Irish migrant in Britain.[487] The situation in Huddersfield however was different due to the fact that there was only a relatively small Irish presence in the town. Nonetheless, the Irish were visible and more so in the Catholic Church which as previously mentioned witnessed an increase in demand for the sacraments of baptism and marriages during that period. The underlying theme throughout the thesis is that the Irish situation was very different in Huddersfield to their countrymen and women who arrived elsewhere in the nineteenth century. But, how was the life of the Irish different in Huddersfield? It is evident that the vast majority of them were Catholic and unlike in other places were not scorned upon for their faith.

Even so, life was not easy. The major obstacle facing them when they arrived in the town was as mentioned formerly was adapting to a life that was very different to the one they had left behind. Living in a town or city was alien to them so therefore, it would have taken time for them to adapt to their new surroundings. The need of work forced them to settle in towns or cities where job opportunities were available. Further to this, as indicated by Finnegan earlier, a language barrier existed for some of the people who were from Gaelic speaking areas, which meant that fitting in, was even harder for them. Raphael Samuel supports this argument. He maintains that some of the Irish people who lived in England, hailed from the west of Ireland, only spoke Irish. Others reverted to their native tongue when

[487] Roger Swift, (Integration or Separation), *The Irish in Britain: 1815 – 1914, Perspectives & Sources* (London, Historical Association, 1990), p. 20.

they were feeling emotional. Samuel adds that in response to this, some of the priests were Irish speaking with their congregation.[488]

A major problem, as highlighted by Swift, is that both the Irish and English communities had different religions. 'A fundamental difference between the Irish and English was their religious beliefs, the English, Scots and Welsh were overwhelmingly Protestant by tradition.'[489] In contrast, the majority of the Irish population were Catholic. It was in fact, this religious difference that caused the most upset between the Irish and British as it was easily identifiable as the most recognisable dissimilarity between the two communities.

Swift adds that 'the terms 'Irish' and 'Catholic' were virtually synonymous in British eyes'.[490] Clearly, the two were inter-twined in the minds of many of the English people. Was religion indeed important to the Irish or not? The fact that there were Catholic churches in Bradford, Leeds and Huddersfield all called St. Patrick's indicates that there were significant numbers of Irish living in these respective areas of Yorkshire. Interestingly also, St. Patrick's in Huddersfield and Leeds were built within a year of one another; Leeds in 1831 and Huddersfield in 1832.[491] This suggests that there was a need for the churches in both these areas and the decision to call the churches after the Irish patron saint conveys the impression that there were Irish in the area long before the famine. However, in Bradford, their St. Patrick's church was built nearly twenty years after the other two churches and was indeed intended to cope with the expanding Catholic population that occurred both during and after

[488] Raphael Samuel, 'An Irish Religion', in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity II Minorities & Outsiders* (London, Routledge, 1989), p. 103.
[489] Roger Swift, (Integration or Seperation), p. 29.
[490] Ibid.
[491] St. Patrick's as will be seen later was not the first attempt to provide religion to Huddersfield, see p. 195.

the Famine. 'It was imperative that a second church should be built close to where the Irish Catholics were living and so in 1850, plans were begun.'[492]

Brook's view that Catholic churches were located close to the Irish supports Raphael Samuel's argument that Catholic churches were deliberately established amongst the poor people with the intention of encouraging the people to attend church.[493] This would seem to have occurred in Bradford, Leeds and Huddersfield. The Catholic Churches were indeed located close to where the Irish lived and were thus easily accessible to the people. In Huddersfield, St. Patrick's is located off the modern day Ring Road and behind the train station. This was a central location in the town and was easily accessible for the local populace to service their religious needs. Its convenience would explain why New North Road was chosen as a boarding point for Hackney Carriages.[494] In fact, all the other locations where the Irish lived all appear to be in the hub of the town centre, but then again this would have been the norm at that time, as previously said, people lived close to where they worked. In spite of the time difference in the building of St. Patrick's church in Bradford which was the last of the three to be built, one common purpose seems to have occurred and that was to ensure that the church was accessible to its congregation. This was essential in a time when the ordinary worker would have mainly travelled on foot.

When the priest lived amongst the people, there was obviously more likelihood of seeing him regularly. In Samuel's mind, it was important, to the Catholic Church, in the aftermath of the Famine that the number of Catholic missions and schools be increased in Britain. He surmises that there were two key jobs for the Catholic Church to do in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Their purpose was to both convert the well-born and rich to

[492] Citation is given by Roy Brook in 'A Letter to the Catholics of Huddersfield from their priests on the occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the arrival of the first resident priest in Huddersfield' (Held in St. Patrick's, Huddersfield), 24 September, 1978.
[493] Raphael Samuel, 'The Roman Catholic Church and the Irish Poor', *The Irish in the Victorian City*, Roger Swift & Sheridan Gilley (Kent, Croom Helm, 1985), p. 274
[494] Minutes of Hackney Coach, 28 January, 1850. (Huddersfield Archives)

Catholicism and to establish a national church for the Irish poor. Samuel argues that one of the key obstacles in the way of establishing a church for the Irish was that their way of practising their faith was very different. The Irish were inclined to use a lot of symbols linked with their faith whilst the English were not. Images of Mary, sacred pictures in the home, scapulars were worn and the recital of the rosary was deemed to be very important to Irish people when they were worshipping.[495]

In Samuel's opinion, the priest was a pivotal character in the life of the parish and this was confirmed by the fact that it was the priest who was called upon, rather than a policeman, to resolve a dispute when it occurred.[496] 'The priest was the secular as well as the religious leader of his flock, and his authority was recognised not only by the devout, but by some at least who had virtually lapsed from the practice of the Church.'[497] The power of the priest is clearly evident and although people may not themselves be practising their faith they still respected their priest. Donald MacRaild believes that the priest was a skilled mediator and a reminder of a past life and lived in similar dwellings as their Irish congregation in Britain.[498] He adds that one of the most important jobs of the priest was to resolve any disorder via stern words or a 'cape' or a 'cane'.[499] Both these assertions confirm that the priest was a very influential figure in the lives of their parishioners and evidence of their calming skills has been provided earlier in Chapter 3.

Sheridan Gilley in his book *The Irish in the Victorian City* maintains that the clergy were held in different regard by the Catholic and Protestant working-class population. He argues that the vicar was either respected or reviled as a gentleman by his parishioners, whilst

[495] Raphael Samuel, 'An Irish Religion', '*Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, 11 Minorities & Outsider* (London, Routledge, 1989), p. 102.
[496] Samuel, 'The Roman Catholic Church and the Irish Poor', p. 277.
[497] Ibid.
[498] Donald MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain* (Basingstoke, Macmillan Press, 1999), p. 87 – 88.
[499] Ibid., p. 90.

the priest was to be obeyed in virtue of his priesthood alone.[500] The power of the priest at diffusing violent situations is an indicator of the authority the priest had over his congregation, even in times of violence they generally complied with his instructions. The fact that the perceptions of the two faiths are so different in association views of their religious ministers again indicates how different the essence of both Catholicism and Protestantism were. In Samuel's mind, as previously mentioned, since some of the priests were Irish speaking and conversed with their population in their native tongue, their relationship with the congregation was strengthened. A bond with their priests maintained a link with Ireland and therefore he believed helped preserve their national identity.[501]

In Huddersfield, there is no definite proof of the influence of the Catholic priest but if the church attendance as recorded in the 1851 religious census (which would have been used to encourage attendance) is to be believed, the parishioners were indeed loyal to the church. (This will be explored later in the chapter). In truth, the poor proved their loyalty to the church by doing all they financially could, to support the church and even did without to help with its upkeep.[502] This alone is a clear sign of the importance of the church to the Irish migrants. Supple-Green shares the view that the Irish willingly gave to the church and states that 'the pennies of the Irish poor were the sole support of many priests in the industrial areas of Yorkshire'.[503] Since the Catholic Church was already built in Huddersfield in 1832, any donations given by the parishioners would have been used towards the upkeep of the parish, however, there is no definite evidence that this occurred. Nonetheless, the general tradition in the Catholic Church is that donations are indeed given weekly by the parishioners, which are

[500] Sheridan Gilley, 'Vulgar Piety and the Brompton Oratory, 1850 – 1960', in *The Irish in the Victorian City* (Kent, Croom Helm, 1985), p. 257.
[501] Samuel, 'An Irish Religion', p.103.
[502] Ibid., p. 104.
[503] J. F. Supple-Green, *The Catholic Revival in Yorkshire 1850 – 1900* (Leeds, Leeds Philosophical & Literary Society Ltd., October, 1990), p. 3.

subsequently used to maintain the church and its priests, and it would be unlikely to not have been the case then.

Photo 1: St. Patrick's Church, Huddersfield.

The physical presence of St. Patrick's cannot be ignored. It was built using local sandstone and its architecture would have been common practice at that time. By looking at the photographic evidence (see photos 1- 3), it is possible to en-visualise what life was like in the 1850s.[504]The church itself has not been structurally altered much but there has been one addition to the exterior of the church, a porch with its striking stained glass window, (see Photo 4) built by Fr. Patrick McGee in 1962.[505] To the side of the church, there are statues of St. Patrick and the Sacred Heart (see Photos 5 – 6). The statue of St. Patrick used to be above the entrance but was moved to its present position when the porch was added. [506]

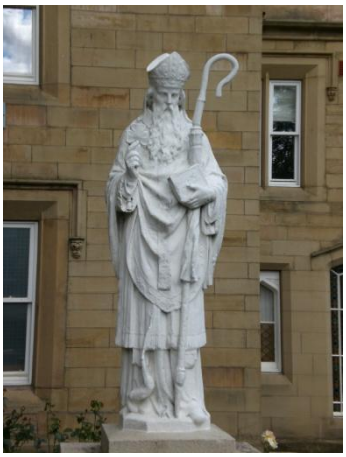
[504] Photos taken by R. A. Best, 2007.
[505] Brief Notes compiled in 1982 to show the vigour & diversity of the parish, held at St. Patrick's Church, Huddersfield.
[506]Photos taken by R. A. Best, 2007.

Photo 2: Interior of St. Patrick's Church.

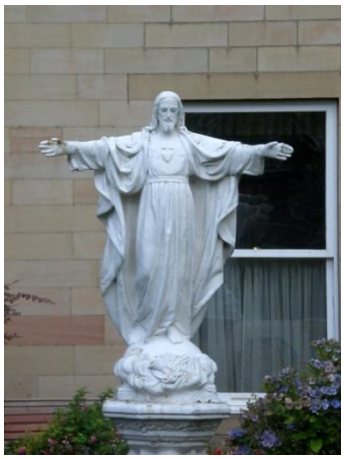
Photo 3: Original Interior of St. Patrick[507]

[507] Photo extracted from Kirklees Arc hives' webisted www.kirkleesimages.org.uk

<u>Photo 4:</u> Porch was a later addition. Notice the slight difference in colour of stones[508]



<u>Photo 5:</u> Statue of St. Patrick [509]



<u>Photo 6:</u> Sacred Heart [510]

[508] Photos taken by R. A. Best, 2007.
[509] Ibid.
[510] Ibid.

Some of the stained glass windows were not necessarily there when it was first built in 1832.[511] For example, 'On Sunday, 22 November, 1874, special services were held on account of the re-decoration of the Church, it was at this time that the beautiful stained glass memorial window in the Sanctuary was completed at the cost of £170.' [512] "Two memorial windows, one to St. Patrick and one to St. Stephen, perpetuate his name and show the affection in which he was held by the congregation. The dedications read … 'pray for the soul of the Very Rev. Stephen Canon Wells Pastor of this Church for 24 years who died July 7th 1887 R.I.P.' "[513] (See Photo 7)

Photo 7: Stain Glass Windows dedicated to Rev. Wells

The Stations of the Cross too were later features; they were added to mark the centenary anniversary of the church.[514] The changes that were made to the interior reflected the changing tastes and needs of the church.[515] Since the exterior in the main remains the same, it is clear that there was a huge difference between where people worshipped and how they lived personally. This would have not been any different for the English working-class

[511] Brief Notes compiled in 1982 to show the vigour & diversity of the parish, held at St. Patrick's Church, Huddersfield.
[512] Rev. Francis X. Singleton, *A Historical Record of St. Patrick's Church, Huddersfield, Centenary, 1832 – 1932* (Huddersfield, Swindlehurst & Nicholson Printers, 1932). p.23.
[513] Stephen Habron, *175 years of St. Patrick's Church, 1832 – 2007* (Leeds, Essay Printing Limited, 2007), p. 17.
[514] Ibid., p. 21.
[515] Brief Notes compiled in 1982.

person. Churches possessed far more money than the ordinary worshipper who ironically helped finance the building of the church. 'Money was collected in England and Ireland and the new church opened in 1832.'[516]

Photo 8: Stations of the Cross [517]

Not only did the Catholic population look after the church; but they also provided funds which helped support Huddersfield Infirmary. Monies were collected in various places of worship within the town from when it opened in 1831 until 1851. During that time, £944 - 13s - 1d (£944.67) was collected. It is clear from the following table the amounts supplied by the Catholic Church in Huddersfield and actually constituted 5 per cent of the total amount. In view of the fact that the Catholic Church congregation was relatively small, this bequest appears to be a sizeable amount.

[516] Roy Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield* (London, MacGibbon & Kee Ltd, 1968), p. 128.
[517] Photos taken by R. A. Best, 2007.

Table 5.1: Contributions by the congregation of St. Patrick's to Huddersfield Infirmary[518]

Year	£ (Pounds)	S (shillings)	D (Pence)
1836	10	10	0
1839	7	0	0
1841	9	9	0
1843	7	7	0
1846	4	6	8
1851	5	5	0
Total	43	17	8

'The numbers of places of worship from which contributions have been received are 38.' [519] It continues that there was no regularity in the donations bequeathed by any of the places of worship as demonstrated in Table 5.1. It is no surprise that Huddersfield Parish Church was the biggest contributor considering it had the largest congregation. Even so, the Catholic population were generous to the Infirmary as St. Patrick's ranked about fourth in the amount donated by their parishioners. Religion appears to have been important to the local population in view of the fact that the *Huddersfield Chronicle* cited there were thirty-eight churches in the town.

In particular, religion appears to have been an important part of Irish people's lives and Mayhew substantiates this by explaining that Irish women were good at attending church. He based this judgement on his study of women street sellers and said that 'the poor Irish females in London are for the most part regular in their attendance of Mass'.[520] Then again not all historians accept Mayhew's view that the Irish immigrants were committed Catholics. James Obelkevich provides some statistics doubting this relationship: 'From Ireland came the immigrants who increased the Catholic population from only 100,000 in 1780 to 750,000 in

[518] Supple-Green, *The Catholic Revival in Yorkshire*, p. 3.
[519] *Huddersfield Chronicle*, Saturday, 10 April 1852, p. 5.
[520] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour*, p.144.

1851'.[521] Despite these huge numbers, he adds that a lot of these immigrants were 'lost' to the church and the priests became missionaries to bring Catholics back to the church. In his view, the role of the priest was to encourage people to prove their commitment to their faith by actually attending church. Aside from this, priests were devoted to their congregation and their moral welfare. They encouraged their parishioners to resist the temptation to marry outside their faith (already discussed in Chapter 2 as a big no no) and believed that it was important that Catholics should avoid interaction with Protestants. In response to this, they did their utmost to construct Catholic schools whose existence would facilitate keeping the two communities apart.

Steven Fielding shares Obelkevich's view that the Irish were not as religious as is often was portrayed. He argues that some priests exploited the idea that Ireland was a more devout country than England. Prior to the 1850s, he stipulated that Ireland was primarily a rural country and only about one-third attended mass.[522] When the Irish arrived in Britain, the church found that many immigrants didn't attend mass but still considered themselves to be Catholics. The priests did home visits to encourage people to attend church.

Gerard Connolly was likeminded. He believes that in many areas, there was clear evidence that the Irish were not very good at attending Mass. He suggests that the huge influx of Irish Catholics to Britain was detrimental to the British Catholic Church. 'In short, immigration from Ireland reduced a thriving native Catholicism in England, at least momentarily, to a rather sorry state, and this in the very area of its established strength, practice: thereby threatening the long-term credibility of Catholicism on the British mainland

[521] James Obelkevich, 'Religion', in*The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750 – 1950 Volume 3*, Chapter 6: Social Agencies and Institutions (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 335.
[522] Steven Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England 1880 – 1939* (Buckingham, Open University Press, 1993), p. 48.

as a religion of regular observance.'[523] The increase in number of Irish Catholics did change the overall representation of the Catholic Church. In addition, due to the growth in number of working class people in the church, the priest couldn't remain aloof from his congregation.[524] The dedication of the priests to his sick parishioners created a bond between the priest and the people. It brought them very close.[525] Two of the priests in Huddersfield probably died while administering to their sick parishioner indicating that these particular priests were not cut off from their parishioners. (This will be explained in greater depth later in the chapter).

William James Lowe in his thesis too believes that the priest was a key figure as he in reality was the only direct link the people had with the church.[526] He adds substance to Swift's earlier argument that the Irish were closely associated with the Catholic Church. In his mind, the priest earned the respect of his community by being committed to their welfare. In particular, some of the priests were concerned about their flock's dependence on alcohol and took steps to alleviate the problem. (This will be explored in greater detail later in the chapter). Lowe like Donald MacRaild, believes that a shortage of priests and churches prior to the famine meant that full attendance was difficult to achieve. [527] He adds that only forty per cent of the Irish Catholic population were attending Mass prior to the famine.[528] Interestingly, after the famine, Lowe states that attendance had dramatically increased to ninety per cent.[529] In Lowe's mind, the church provided cultural heritage that the people could identify with.

[523] Gerard Connolly, 'Irish and Catholic: Myth or Reality? Another Sort of Irish and the Renewal of the Clerical Profession amongst Catholics in England 1791 – 1918', in *The Irish in the Victorian City*, edited by Roger Swift & Sheridan Gilley (London, Croom Helm, 1985), p.230.
[524] W. J. Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire 1846 – 71: A Social History', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1974), p. 256 – 257.
[525] Ibid., p. 282.
[526] Ibid., p. 247.
[527] Connolly, 'Irish and Catholic: Myth or Reality?' p. 229 – 230.
[528] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 251.
[529] Ibid., p. 252.

The statistics provided by Lowe suggest that religion was important to the Irish population but in contrast across the water in the 1840s, he explains that religion was not an essential part of the English working class peoples' lives. Why was this? The existence of the class system in churches was a source of irritation and resentment to the workers as it was clearly obvious who could afford to have pews in a church and who couldn't.[530] Another apparent distinction between the Irish and English was that the Irish immigrants viewed the church as a social focus. The active role of the priest meant that the church could be relied on to work for the community. The church was instrumental in helping the emigrant adapt to their new life.

Perhaps the most interesting change for the rural Irish who settled in urban towns was that the priest could circulate more easily and therefore was more of a familiar sight than he had been in Ireland.[531] In accordance with this, Lowe maintains that the Irish lived close to one another in small towns.[532] Due to the limitations of the size of the towns, people lived within easy access of one another. Lowe was referring to the size of Widnes in Lancashire but as previously pointed out Huddersfield was similarly a small township which meant that this explanation could also apply there. The Irish were required to live within proximity of one another based on the accommodation that was available to them within the confines of the township.

Lowe continues to explain that the Liverpool Catholic population witnessed a dramatic growth from 1846 – 65.[533] However, church attendance he argues remained static in Liverpool in spite of the Irish Catholic population increase. He also states that Roman

[530] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 253.
[531] Ibid.
[532] Ibid., p. 111.
[533] Ibid., p. 259.

Catholics were more regular attendees compared to Anglicans.[534] His argument was that the completion of a religious census in 1851 only provided figures of attendance for one day and was not a true representation of church attendance. Why did he believe this? It was completed by the ministers themselves and didn't take into account those who went to church more than once.[535]

What happened in Huddersfield? Did the Irish Catholics attend or not attend church regularly? Like Liverpool, there was a religious census completed in 1851 on the number of people that attended religious services in the town on an allotted day. Although commonly known as the religious census, it should have been referred to by its correct title, a census of Accommodation and Attendance at Worship.[536] The purpose of the religious census was to determine how religion had kept a breast of the changing population.[537] Not only did the census provide numerical details on how many were attending services on that particular day, it also was a source of information on the chapel or meeting place where the services were held. Originally, it was intended to repeat the process ten years later but due to disagreements amongst the various denominations, this did not occur.[538]

In relation to Huddersfield, the statistics provided display how many people actually attended Mass at St. Patrick's on, 30 March 1851. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Under-Secretary of the Home Office pursued a personal initiative to find out if there were available spaces in churches or not? He wanted to determine whether people didn't attend church due to lack of space or for other reasons. The usual census enumerators were requested on the week of 23 March 1851 to identify places of worship in their area and deliver a religious

[534] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 286.
[535] Ibid., p. 254.
[536] www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/methdism/rc1851/rc_gb.htm
[537] Ibid.
[538] Ibid.

census form to them that was to be completed the following Sunday. It was 'a unique document that was unprecedented and unrepeated.'[539]

John Wolffe observes that although the information in the document may not be totally trusted by the reader, nevertheless, it was useful as it gives an idea of the commitment people had to religion at that time. It was a voluntary census and was all completed within no time as the forms were collected back in on the 31 March. This meant that the various clergy in each parish had to quickly collate the information. Some of the clergy, according to Wolffe, argued that there were two factors that hindered attendance that day. Apparently, there was an influenza epidemic and this combined with bad weather – heavy rain and thunderstorms impacted upon attendance. Understandably in Wolffe's mind, attendance was better in churches where people didn't have far to walk to attend the service.[540]

As a consequence of the same census in Bradford, it was noted that it had a population of 181,964 and 159 churches.[541] Closer examination of church attendance in Bradford reveals that the numbers present at their churches varied. Some of the churches were small and had a low attendance. In Salem Chapel, (Independent Church), for example, on average there were 690 people at a service. In contrast in Christ Church, (Church of England), the numbers were much greater. The general congregation in the morning was 800 with 600 Sunday Scholars, in the afternoon, there were 500 people in the general congregation with again 600 Sunday Scholars and finally in the evening 800 in the general congregation and 200 Sunday Scholars. An additional point noted was that the weather and influenza affected attendance which corroborates Wolffe's observations on factors that affected the turnout at church on that particular day. [542] The *Huddersfield Chronicle* provides

[539] John Wolffe, *The Religious Census of 1851 in Yorkshire* (York, Borthwick Paper 108, 2005), p.1.
[540] Ibid., Volume 1, p. 16.
[541] Ibid., p. 2.
[542] Ibid., Volume 2, p. 122.

some contradictory evidence to that provided by Wolffe but discrepancies could be explained as the congregation were encouraged to attend for the religious census or it could have been dependent on the event being celebrated. For an annual sermon preached at the Wesley Schools, in Queen Street Chapel, the newspaper said there were about 300 people present in June 1852.[543] Wolffe said that the general congregation was 777 on the 30 March, 1851.[544] This discrepancy could be explained as there may have been more than one service. Similarly, in Holmfirth the *Huddersfield Chronicle* observed that there were two services the week before that were preached by Rev. George Roebuck from Warrington.[545] Wolffe provides figures for three services.[546]

It was also discovered using the data from the census that Roman Catholicism had a developing presence in Britain.[547] Earlier statistics provided by Obelkevich's confirm that there was indeed an increase in the number of Catholics of Britain since there were 650,000 additional Catholics living in Britain. It therefore comes as no surprise that 'some Roman Catholic chapels, especially in the towns, were full to overflowing, and obliged to hold numerous services to accommodate the recent growth of the community.'[548] The following information corroborates that attendance had greatly increased at St. Patrick's in Leeds. The church could only seat 500 but to provide for their congregation of 1,700, they held three morning services.[549] The National Archives' figures contradict these findings since it states that there was only one church in Leeds with a capacity for 240 people, with 100 attending the morning service, 150 in the afternoon and 200 at the evening service.[550] Obviously there is a massive discrepancy here. Wolffe presents an image of a very devout congregation and in

[543] *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 5 June 1852.
[544] John Wolffe, *The Religious Census of 1851*, Volume 3, p. 23.
[545] *Huddersfield Chronicle*, Saturday, 4 September 1852.
[546] Wolffe, *The Religious Census of 1851* in Yorkshire, Volume 3, p.10.
[547] Ibid., p.5.
[548] Ibid., Volume 1, p. 24.
[549] Ibid.
[550] www.nationalarchives.gov.uk – Some notes on the 1851 Religious Census with a summary of the Roman Catholic Returns.

turn the priests had to provide extra services to cater for their spiritual needs. Whilst, the National Archives' figures display that the Catholic population of the area attended the three services but appear to be fewer in number.

In addition, to holding extra services, in some areas, new churches were built to cope with the expanding congregations.[551] In Bradford, in St. Marie's, the church was built in 1825 and was used exclusively as a church. The expanding Catholic population meant that the church building was extended in 1838 with additional seating – benches were used to cater for the increasing general congregation of 3,018. In addition to church attendance, there were 478 baptisms and 139 marriages in the parish in 1850.[552] The National Archives' website records that there was only one Catholic Church with the capacity for 380 people and a general congregation of 3228 at its morning services and 800 in the evening.[553] From this, it is clear that there would have been a huge increase in pressure on the Catholic priests in this parish to cater for the spiritual needs of such an enormous congregation. Wolffe remarks that the morning return did not give a true average number of the congregation.[554]

Wolffe observes that some people attended more than one service in a day. This is one possible reason why the figures may be possibly doubted. Another reason, he gave was that the clergy may have made an error completing the form due to the immediacy of the census. There was only a week for the whole process, whereby the forms were distributed, completed and collected. It is said that there was a pressure by the various clergy to get as many people as possible to attend church on that particular day. Although the reasoning given by Wolffe appears very plausible, it does not however explain the massive discrepancy between the figures provided by Wolffe for Leeds compared to the National Archives' census details.

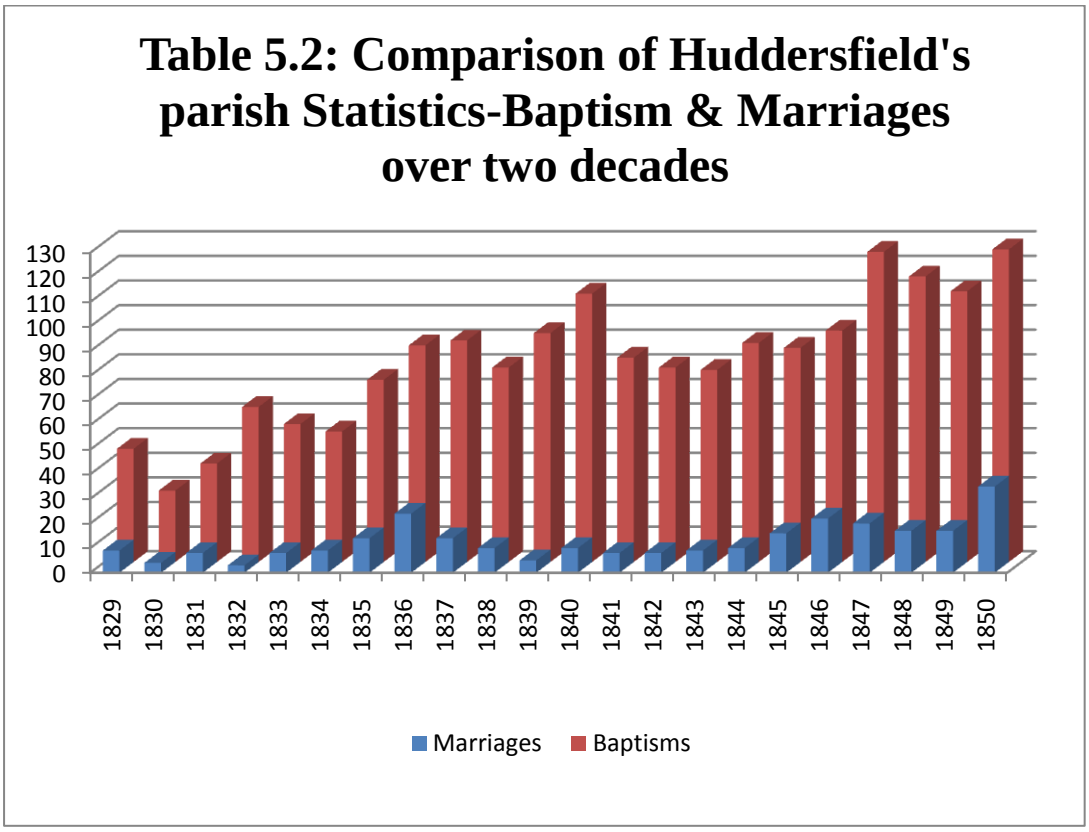
[551] Wolffe, *The Religious Census*, Volume 1, p. 27.
[552] Ibid., Volume 2, p. 121.
[553] www.nationalarchives.gov.uk – Some notes on the 1851 Religious Census with a summary of the Roman Catholic Returns.
[554] Wolffe, *The Religious Census of 1851*, Volume 2, p. 121.

What, however, does the census state about St. Patrick's in Huddersfield? The church was used exclusively as a place of worship and on the appointed day, 30 March 1851, there were 400 people at mass in the morning and 300 in the evening. The same figures were provided in response to the question what was average attendance over twelve months. The census returns were signed by William Arnold, the Catholic priest.[555] Since there were 1,509 Irish living in the Huddersfield area and assuming that the congregation was for the most part Irish, this would imply that nearly half the Irish people attended Mass on that particular day and on a regular basis.[556] If these figures are indeed accurate and not exaggerated by the priest, this would convey the impression that the Catholic Irish were for the most part committed to their faith. There is confirmation of these figures in the National Archives website in reference to Huddersfield. It too states that there was only one Catholic Church in the town in 1851 with the capacity for 400 people. In the morning service there were 400 people present, there was no afternoon service but during the evening service, there were 300 people in attendance.[557]

The religious census is only the figures of attendance for one day, but an examination of the church's records reveals that from the 1830s, there was a considerable increase in the number of baptisms and marriages in the parish (see Table 5.2, p. 181). Although the people may not have actually been regular attendees at Mass, the increase in numbers of baptisms and marriages that occurred in the parish conveys that the parishioners still believed in receiving the sacraments; unfortunately, there are no death registers available making it impossible to establish what the natural increase in the population in the parish was. Nevertheless, it is still clear that Catholicism was increasingly popular in the town during this period.

[555] Wolffe, *The Religious Census of 1851,* Volume 3, p. 24.
[556] Totals derived using the Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851.
[557] www.nationalarchives.gov.uk – Some notes on the 1851 Religious Census with a summary of the Roman Catholic Returns.

From the information displayed in Table 5.2, the numbers of baptisms were steadily progressing except for in 1840 where there was a considerable increase. The following year saw a drop in baptisms; but from 1847 till 1850, there was again a dramatic increase. This would coincide with the arrival of the famine Irish to the town. There were far fewer marriages in the parish, except for the odd occasion; otherwise the numbers appear to have remained constant throughout the 1830s and 40s.



In conjunction with this, parish records present an interesting feature, since the names of some godparents of Irish children were English and in reverse some English children had Irish godparents, (see Table 5.3, p. 182), this suggests that there must have been some interaction between a portion of the Irish and English Catholics. Presumably, Obelkevich's argument that the church successfully dissuaded non-Catholics and Catholics from inter-mingling is correct, then it was only their religion not their nationality that was the basis for

this separation. Consequently, there would have been no foreseeable obstacles between Irish and English Catholics either marrying or being friends with one another.

Table 5.3: Extracts from the Records of Baptisms at St. Patrick's Church[558]

Name of Child:	Date of Birth:	Date of Baptism:	Parents' Names:	Godparents' Names
William Shaw	26.10. 1844	21.03.1845	Seth Shaw Sarah Cheetham	Thomas Duffy[559] Elizabeth Sloane
James Lennon	05.03.1845	30.03.1845	Patrick Sarah Kairi (surname hard to decipher)	Andrew Duffy Anna Traynor
Anna Rafferty	12.02.1845	30.03.1845	George Ann Murphy	Rosa Brown James Kairi (hard to decipher surname)
Ellen Hirst Richardson	26.03.1845	10.04.1845	William Ellen Hirst	Kevin & Mary Moran
John Bones	18.03.1845	13.04.1845	Edward Mary Byrnes	Michael & Bridget Flannagan
William Dunn	19.03.1845	21.04.1845	Peter Bridget Fagan	Andrew Dunn Julia Kinsley
James Duffy	28.04.1845	01.05.1845	James Bridget Kinsley	James Kinsley Ann Highland (?)
George Anderson	28.04.1845	05.05.1845	Christopher Cath Henry	Terence Kelly Mary Legg
Ann McGowan	17.12.1844	08.06.1845	William Sarah Baxter	Thomas Baxter Sarah Baxter

[558] St. Patrick's Church Catholic Registry of Baptisms, Huddersfield 1828 – 1853. (Only some of the Church records have been referred to, see Table 5. 4 – p. 319 where cross matches have been made with Census Returns)
[559] In 1851 Census, possibly 38 yr old Hawker, married with 2 children.

Close examination of Table 5.3 shows that errors could occur since it is evident that the name Kairi which appears twice was hard to decipher. (In Ireland the correct spelling would be Carey or if you were to use the Irish version it would be O'Ciardha). Aside from this, in the actual records, there is a question mark placed after the godparent Ann Highland's name suggesting that the minister was not totally sure that this indeed was the correct name. Often, due to their heavy workload, priests had to complete the records a while later and sometimes during the delay, mistakes were made.[560] On the whole, it is clear that baptisms occurred shortly after the birth of the child; this was customary and is still the case for many Irish Catholics today. The reason for the immediacy of the baptism was that it was feared that if the child should die before they were baptised, access to heaven for their soul would be denied. An immediate baptism prevented such a fate.

On some occasions, within the records, it is obvious that the reason that there was both an English and Irish godparent was because of an inter-marriage between the English and Irish. For instance this obviously happened in the cases of Ellen Hirst Richardson, John Bones and Ann McGowan. Other deductions that can be made are that since William Dunn's godmother was Julia Kinsley, it is probable that she was related to both Bridget and James Kinsley, the respective mother and godfather of James Duffy. William's godfather was obviously a relative of Bridget's since Kinsley is an unusual surname. The name Bridget, a popular Christian name in the registers, is associated with the admired Irish saint and the popularity of the name has been discussed earlier in the thesis. Finally, George Anderson seems to have no obvious Irish link but still has an Irish godfather proving that indeed there was some interaction between various Irish and English Catholics.

In addition, to providing information on the children being baptised, at the end of each year an overall total is given on how many baptisms took place in the parish (see Table 5.5).

[560] As advised by Mr. Alastair Cheetham, St. Patrick's Huddersfield, August 2008.

Occasionally the exact ratio of males and females is provided. It is not specified whether the children were Irish or English, instead a judgement has been made on whether the surnames sounded Irish or English. On the whole, from the information provided, it would seem that it was fairly evenly balanced between the two nationalities proving the commitment of both English and Irish Catholics and the erection of their own local church meant that the sacraments were locally available.

Table 5.5: Ratio of Baptisms & Nationality of Children Baptised[561]

Year of Baptism:	Total Number of Baptisms:	Number of Males:	Number of Females:	Nationality of children:
1846	94	51	43	Mainly Irish
1847	126	Not stated	Not stated	Mixture Irish & English
1848	116	Not stated	Not stated	Mixture
1849	110	64	46	Mixture
1850	127	Not stated	Not stated	Mainly English
1851	152	Not stated	Not stated	Mixture
1852	164	Not stated	Not stated	Mainly English

Although the church records and other sources verify that there was an unmistakable boost in numbers of Irish Catholics in Yorkshire, Supple- Green argues that it was the English Catholics who controlled the church. This view was shared by Pauline E. Freeman, who said that ‘’the Roman Catholic Church in England became a Church of the people, although the hierarchy remained largely in the hands of the Old Catholics.’[562] Supple – Green believes that the reason for this was that the middle class gave their sons and daughters to the church. This meant that they became the clergy and their parents donated sums of money to assist with the church’s upkeep. In her mind, the Irish poor’s role in the church was that they provided the numbers responsible for the increase in missions and schools.[563] Unfortunately,

[561] St. Patrick’s Church Catholic Registry of Baptisms, Huddersfield 1828 – 1853 and 1854 – 1886.
[562] Pauline E. Freeman, ‘Erin’s Exiles – the Irish in Leeds’, *Catholicism in Leeds – A Community of Faith 1794 – 1994* (Leeds, Leeds Diocesan Archives, 1994), p. 72.
[563] J. F. Supple-Green, *The Catholic Revival in Yorkshire*, p. 3.

there is no evidence of who the key families were in Huddersfield so it is not possible to ascertain whether it was indeed English families who controlled the church in the town or not. The evidence in the parish records does however corroborate that due to the influx of the Irish, there was a greater demand for Catholic spiritual guidance.

Emmet Larkin in his article 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland 1850 – 75' contends that church attendance in Ireland prior to the Famine was not high. Fielding and Obelkevich share this viewpoint. Larkin offers an explanation on why this occurred. In his mind, it was only after the appointment of Paul Cardinal Cullen as Archbishop of Armagh in 1850 that 'the great mass of the Irish people became practicing Catholics'.[564] His main reasoning on why attendance was low prior to this was that the ratio of priests to people was far lower. The situation changed in the aftermath of the famine since the population of Ireland had fallen by around two million, this caused an increase in the ratio of priests to people. Larkin admitted that the character and conduct of the clergy greatly improved, between the dates of 1800 to 1845. He claims that the situation had drastically improved by 1830 'when the worst was over as Irish bishops with the help of Rome had priests under control. Obviously, there were still some exceptions and it was dependent on the bishop's authority in the area.[565]

In addition, he adds that before the famine not only was there a shortage of priests but there was not sufficient space in the churches to cope with the volume of people or enough churches to cope with the numbers of Catholics wanting to worship there. He explains that the 'Stations' (the saying of mass in a person's home) were widespread and also baptisms and marriages often took place in private houses. The Stations are an Irish custom dating back to the penal times when there were restrictions on the practice of Catholicism. In order that the

[564] Emmet Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland 1850 – 75', *American Historical Review*, 77(3 June 1972), p. 625.
[565] Ibid.,p. 630.

people could preserve their faith, a mass was said in a person's home and the neighbours would come and celebrate with the host family. They usually were celebrated in rural areas and still continue to occur today in Ireland and each house takes it in turns to host the event. Another tradition during the penal times was that mass was said in a remote area referred to as 'a mass rock'. A lookout would warn the congregation if the English were coming and the mass would be halted.[566] Such events were frowned upon by people trying to reform the clergy and laity. It was believed that it was undignified to practice their faith in unholy places.[567] In Larkin's mind, both Daniel O'Connell and Fr. Matthew were responsible for the increase in devotions during the time of the bad harvests of the famine.[568] Millions took the pledge and others enrolled in the Repeal Association of O'Connell. O'Connell was popular because of his involvement in Catholic Emancipation. The importance of the Catholic faith meant that his efforts were much appreciated by the Irish.

Why was Fr. Matthew deemed to be important? Some of the priests, including Fr. Matthew, disapproved of the fondness that the Irish Catholics had for drink. J. H. Treble 'states that it was perceived by one individual that 'drunken Catholics … degraded his religion.'[569] In an attempt to alleviate this, certain efforts were made by individuals to curb their dependence on alcohol. 'Responsible leaders tried to stem the increasing amount of drunkenness to be found amongst their largely Irish parishes.'[570] Catholic Temperance and Total Abstinence Societies appeared in most areas and by 1842 it had offices in Huddersfield, Leeds and Bradford. The *Huddersfield Chronicle* advertised a notice advising of a Public Temperance meeting to be held in the Philosophical Hall in the town on the following

[566] Telephone Interview with Noreen Moriarty, 7 March 2009. (My mother is from a rural background and her family still celebrate the Stations in their family home today).
[567] Emmet Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution', p. 636.
[568] Daniel O'Connell – Irish political campaigner who achieved Catholic Emancipation in 1829 & Fr. Matthew a priest based in Cork, Ireland who travelled around Britain, Ireland and America encouraging people to take the pledge – abstaining from alcohol around the time of the Famine.
[569] J. H. Treble, 'The Place of the Irish Catholics in the Social Life of the North of England, 1829 – 51' (unpublished doctorate thesis, Leeds, University of Leeds, 1968), p. 129.
[570] Ibid.

Thursday evening, 15April 1852.[571] The existence of such groups were believed to be necessary and Fr. Matthew now honoured with a statue located at the top of the main street, Patrick Street, Cork, where he lived and worked for most of his life was a driving force in reducing the dependence on alcohol in Ireland came and gave lectures on alcohol consumption throughout the United Kingdom. Treble alleges that publicans saw in return for the labours of the anti- drink campaigners a drop in takings. Following on from these abstinence societies, in Ireland an Roman Catholic teetotal organisation known as 'pioneers' was founded in 1898 to re-enforce the work of Fr. Matthew. This group is a group of people who refrain from taking alcohol and their members wear a pin on their clothes indicating the commitment they have taken.

The efforts of Fr. Matthew, further illustrates the importance of the priest to the Catholic community. The dependence on alcohol was a source of concern to the clergy and in return temperance societies were established in various locations to help the parishioners. Clearly, in some areas, the priests chose to do something constructive to try and alleviate the problem, which would have earned the respect of some of their congregation.

Sadly, the efforts of Fr. Matthew were foiled as the 'potato blight' undid most of his work.' After his visitation Irish peasants took once more to 'spirituous liquor' as almost their only material source of comfort.'[572] In Chapter 3, it was discovered that the Irish had a fondness for spirits which resulted in inebriating the drinkers much quicker. Treble again confirms that spirits were the chosen drink by the Irish. Alcohol was clearly a solace that invariably isolated them even further from their host community and even more so when they committed crimes. (As discussed in Chapter 3)

[571] *Huddersfield Chronicle*, Saturday, 10 April 1852.
[572] J. H. Treble, 'The Place of the Irish Catholics', p.136.

Larkin maintains that it was the better-off Catholics who survived the famine and created a more 'devotional nucleus'.[573] The poor he argues either died or emigrated. He adds that people were ready to believe in the aftermath of the famine. Cullen, in Larkin's view, had a difficult task of changing things, but by 1875, he had bishops in authority that supported him and his changes. During Cullen's leadership, the number of priests increased and the Catholic population fell. Under his guidance, not only were there more priests but the quality of the priests improved too. Such a statement is difficult to establish, nonetheless, it is clear that the parishioners in Britain did live amongst the community and were easily accessible to cater for their spiritual needs. In addition, Larkin observes that there were more churches, schools, convents and seminaries built and from the 1850s, missions were held in every parish. In short, the overall status of Catholicism was improved and the sacraments were more readily available.

D. W. Miller's article on 'Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine', observes that religion prior to the famine was very different. Many of the old Celtic practices were popular during the penal era when presumably due to the restrictions placed on worship, people opted for other methods of praying. The Catholic clergy were not keen on such worship but some of the priests were sympathetic and Christianised the old Celtic practices.[574] Church attendance was seemingly better in English-speaking areas rather than rural Irish speaking areas.[575] Miller argues that Larkin could have been correct in his assumption that there were fewer priests in Ireland before the famine but notes that not every area had a shortage of priests. He explains that the disappearance of the Irish language needed to be replaced by another symbol and questions whether intense Catholic devotion was the substitute in place of their own

[573] Emmet Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution', p. 639.
[574] D. W. Miller, 'Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine', *Journal of Social History*, Volume 9, Part 2, p. 89.
[575] Ibid., p. 88.

native tongue.[576]Another argument of Miller's was that the Irish peasant religion was very much inter-twined with agriculture. St. Brigid's feast day on the 1 February was deemed as the commencement of the agriculture year and that the failure of three of the four harvests from 1845 – 48 could suggest that Celtic religion was not working.[577] Further to this, the pre-Famine Irish religion was not prepared for catastrophe whilst post-famine religion was to provide moral authority to the people.[578] Miller's interpretation seems different but the influx of Famine Irish to Britain did result in the expansion of Catholic communities. It is irrelevant whether the demand for sacraments was regular or not but the increase in demand for baptisms and marriages indicates that there was a loyalty towards the Catholic faith which people wanted to continue with in their new home.

What was the situation like for the Catholic Irish when they arrived in Britain? Donald McRaild in his book, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain 1750 – 1922* suggests that the Catholic churches in Britain were unable to cope with the huge influx of Irish that had arrived. This view is shared by Supple-Green who said that the Irish caused a strain on the church, its manpower and lastly their finances. MacRaild enlightens that the people were required to adopt alternative methods of worshipping since the church could not cater for all their needs. MacRaild corroborates with Raphael Samuel's reasoning on the difference between Irish and English Catholics; he outlines that Irish Catholics were inclined to use other mediums to help them with their faith: 'Until the 1860s at least, there was an acute shortage of churches and of pew space. The church simply could not cope with the demands placed upon it by the Famine in rush, and many Catholics had to make do with home visits, impromptu gatherings in people's front rooms or personal devotion.'[579] He follows this

[576] D. W. Miller, 'Irish Catholicism', p. 89.
[577] Ibid., p. 91.
[578] Ibid., p. 92.
[579] Donald M. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain 1750 – 1922* (London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), p. 76.

statement with surmising that 'by the 1850s the Catholic Church in Britain was an Irish church.'[580]

MacRaild's views imply that the Irish Catholics were very religious and it was circumstances that forced them to select alternative methods of worship due to the restraints imposed by their numbers rather than indifference to their faith. Obviously, such a situation did not arise in Huddersfield in view of the lack of Irish, but in time, there was a need for another church in Brighouse in 1879 to serve the growing Catholic community which was subsequently followed by other churches in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[581]

How devout then were the Catholics of Huddersfield? The parishioners may have been deprived but they were generous to the church. 'They gave from their own pockets and were proud to do so because they knew they were giving to God.'[582] This statement in a pamphlet produced by St. Patrick's implies that the parishioners were committed to their church but if Fielding is to be believed, it could be that they may have given donations and believed that they should do so as they were indeed a Catholic even if they didn't attend church regularly. MacRaild explains that many 'would have viewed the taking of just Easter communion as a sign of healthy religious practice.'[583] From this, one can conclude that some people believed they were 'good' Catholics in spite of their sporadic attendance.

It is clear though that the sacrifices of the parishioners were rewarded by the efforts of some of the priests who risked their own lives to administer last rites to members of their congregation who invariably had fatal diseases. The first priest of St. Patrick's, an Irishman called Father Thomas F. Keily had an untimely death at 31 years of age. The next priest, a

[580] MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, p. 76.
[581] E. A. Hilary Haigh, (Editor), *Huddersfield: A Most Handsome Town* (Huddersfield, Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992).
[582] St. Patrick's Huddersfield Pamphlet, September 1961, Plea for Funds, St. Patrick's Records.
[583] MacRaild, *Irish Migrants*, p. 76.

fellow Irish man, Rev. John Fitzpatrick caught typhus from one of his flock and died also.[584] It would thus seem that the deaths of both these priests occurred as they were administering to their parishioners during a period of 'fever'. This illustrates the commitment they had to their congregation and their willingness to ignore their own personal safety for the benefit of others.

Although the Catholics of Huddersfield were poor, it is alleged by Rev. Singleton they had much more freedom to practise their faith compared to other places in Britain, 'when bigotry was still rampant in many other parts of England.'[585] Treble offers evidence that such prejudice was a problem nearby , 'at Leeds , the Rev. H. Walmsley of St. Anne's conducted for a period of six years a running debate with the town's Poor Law officials over their continuing refusal to permit him to instruct Catholic children in their care. '[586]It is not clear where Reverend Singleton obtained his evidence from but evidently there is a distinct difference between the ways Catholics were treated in Huddersfield compared to Leeds. Singleton added to this by confirming that there was only one occasion of a religious disturbance when a church was attacked in Brighouse after the Phoenix Park murders of 1882. Attacks on the Irish were quite common in 1882, following the murders and where there were no attacks there were tensions. Amazingly, St. Patrick's in the centre of the town escaped any physical attack and there is no mention of any tensions.[587] If there was a true dislike and hatred for Catholicism in the town, it would be natural to presume that the local church would receive unwelcome attention.

Supple-Green offers a theory on why there was such tolerance. She believes that there was a growing acceptance by Protestants of Catholicism in Yorkshire during the first half of

[584] Rev. Francis X. Singleton, *A Historical Record of St. Patrick's Church Huddersfield 1832 – 1932* (Huddersfield, Swindlehurst & Nicholson Printer, 1932), p. 18.
[585] Ibid., p. 19.
[586] Treble, The Place of the Irish Catholics' p. 408.
[587] Ibid.

the nineteenth century. The appointment of Catholic mayors in Leeds and York in her mind confirmed this. Such recognition of Catholics did not occur in Bradford and an explanation for this will be provided later in the chapter. The appointment of Catholics to the prominent position of mayor demonstrates that they had acquired a new status and the recognition they received most importantly displayed that the Penal Laws were no longer being enforced. Nonetheless, there were occasions when there was prejudice towards Catholics. When the new diocese was established in November 1850, there was a growing concern amongst Protestants about this expansion.

Donald MacRaild, in an article on 'Orangeism', provides an interesting viewpoint which is rarely considered, and that is that it is wrongly assumed that all Irish were Catholics.[588] By the 1820s, Orangeism was strong in south Lancashire, Yorkshire, Canada and Western and central Scotland. He explains that the lodges were clubs that assisted the migrants and provided friendship and support to them in their new homes. Further to this, they had their own burial funds and insurance schemes solely for their members. The Order was deeply committed to the idea of a United Britain and to ensuring that there was a back up there for its members.[589] The existence of the Orange Order is a clear indication that there were indeed Irish Protestants living in these places in whatever capacity who were members of the organisation but it must be noted that the group was not exclusively for Irish Protestants alone. In all probability, in the particular spots where their numbers were greater, the powers of the Orange Order would have been more significant.

Presumably the members of the order would have been intolerant in their treatment of Catholics. Perhaps, they were responsible for the occasions when spiritual access was denied to many poor Irish Catholics who were in prison or the workhouse because they were

[588] Donald MacRaild, 'Orangeism & Irish Migration in the 19th and early 20th centuries', *Canadian Journal of Revue Irish Studies,* Vol. 28, No. 2/Vol. 29, No. 1, (2002/3), pps. 103 – 112.
[589] Ibid.

destitute. This behaviour can only be attributed to Protestant prejudice. The fact that under no circumstances was the priest allowed to visit the inmates portrays both how vindictive some Protestants were and how some of the Catholic inmates were treated.[590] This conduct was undoubtedly petty and harsh.

On reflection, it is no surprise that the Catholic Church was impacted by the arrival of the Irish since 'the Irish settled in all the larger towns of Yorkshire and many of the smaller ones'.[591] Sometimes, they were not welcomed and encountered some opposition as just outlined. Why did the arrival of the Irish cause concern? There were three main categories that caused distress; national, social and most significantly religious concerns. What in fact did these categories entail?

The national reasons for concern were the pride that the Irish maintained in their Irish identity which in turn nurtured an interest in their homeland's politics. Socially, the reluctance of the Irish to interact with others was a worry, but even more so the fact that the Irish had a different religion fuelled this unease even further. This discomfort was evident when the newspapers in their publications in 1861 voiced concern about the growing number of priests.[592] Clearly, there was distrust from a number of quarters in response to the growing Irish population to be found in Britain.

Why was this? The immigrants in John Hickey's book, *Urban Catholics: Urban Catholicism in England and Wales*; were isolated because their religion was feared. 'The churches which the immigrants built in their 'settlement' often became the focal point of the riots that took place between the Irish and their working-class neighbours.'[593] Since it has

[590] Supple-Green, *The Catholic Revival in Yorkshire,* p. 7.
[591] Ibid., p. 8
[592] John Hickey, *Urban Catholics:- Urban Catholicism in England and Wales from 1829 to the present day* (London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1967), p. 48.
[593] Ibid., p. 49.

already been established that such attacks were not commonplace in Huddersfield such distrust towards Catholics must not have occurred.

'Public attacks upon their religion in the press, physical attacks upon their persons and property by their neighbours and workmates and their relegation by the authorities to the lowest position on the social scale, produced the inevitable reaction amongst the immigrants. The development of the Catholic immigrant communities in Britain follows a common pattern – withdrawal as far as possible from contact with their neighbours and the building of an independent community life.'[594] Hickey believes that when the Irish were attacked, their response was to isolate themselves from their neighbours. They therefore retreated away from any verbal and physical onslaughts that took place to form their own communities. This theory offers an explanation on why 'ghettos' formed in some towns and cities. They were undoubtedly a means of defence and were intended to protect their people. In Leeds, a type of 'ghetto' occurred around the York Road area and was referred to by Supple-Green as an Irish 'colony'. The use of the term 'colony' conveys an impression of a mass of Irish people who more or less lived in isolation from the rest of the population. The lack of Irish in Huddersfield meant that such a phenomenon could not occur there.

Although an Irish presence was much more visible in some areas compared to others, the Irish were evident throughout the county of Yorkshire. As previously mentioned, three churches in the key immediate areas paid tribute to the Irish patron saint by naming their churches in his honour; Leeds, Bradford and Huddersfield. The following statistics provide an insight into how many Irish exactly lived in the county. In 1851 there were 43,682 Irish people concentrated in the industrial towns. In Bradford, they represented 8.9 per cent of the

[594] Hickey, *Urban Catholics,* p. 55.

population, whilst in Leeds they accounted for 4.9 per cent.[595] Such totals and their variations would explain why they ghettoised in some areas and didn't in others.

Similiarly, the reception the Irish received varied from area to area.The situation in Bradford was very different to Huddersfield, since it witnessed much more political activity. Sometimes the Irish were provoked and were hostile as a result of the negative treatment they endured when they arrived. There was such a distrust of Catholics in Bradford that when the land was being acquired for the building of St. Patrick's, the real intention for its use was kept quiet. 'It was necessary in those days, owing to the bitter Protestant prejudice against everything Catholic to conceal the real purpose for which the land was wanted.'[596]

This fear of Catholics in the town was not new as the following statements prove. 'For some time before 1822 the handful of Catholics in Bradford had been endeavouring to have mass said for them, and in 1822 they hired a room in Commercial Street for this purpose, but were not allowed to go forward with their intention.'[597] Instead, they resorted to hiring a room in a pub but even that caused problems. 'The news that a popish mass had been celebrated in the town caused considerable commotion.'[598] 'The landlady of the inn received notice that her licence would be in danger if she allowed the letting of her room for the purpose of Mass to continue.'[599] People were suspicious of the Catholics of Bradford. In Huddersfield, such problems did not occur and prior to the building of St. Patrick's, Fr. John Maddox, the first resident priest in the town since the sixteenth century had a mission room ironically in a pub too at the bottom of Kirkgate, in the Pack Horse until he was replaced by

[595] Supple-Green, *The Catholic Revival in Yorkshire*, p. 9.
[596] John Earnshaw, *Records & Reminiscences of St. Patrick's Church, Bradford 1853 – 1903* (Bradford, Cornthwaite & Raistrick, 1903), p. 2.
[597] J. B. Brannigan, *Catholicism in Bradford 1825 – 125, Centenary of St. Mary's East Parade, Bradford, A Record of Progress* (Bradford, Lonsdale & Bartholomew Ltd., 1925), p.1.
[598] Ibid.
[599] Ibid.

Fr. Keily, who built the first Catholic Church in the town for over three hundred years.[600] There is no mention of the landlord or indeed landlady incurring any threats for allowing Fr. Maddox use of the rooms. Although there was this discrepancy between Bradford and Huddersfield, they did share some common features. Aside from their churches sharing the same name; the poor people of both places helped finance the building of their churches.

Is there any other evidence of how the Irish Catholics were treated in Bradford? David James' book on *Bradford* alleges that the Irish of the area were persecuted for their Catholicism and since it was a centre for the Orange Order, anti-Catholic riots occurred. In contrast, there is no visible evidence of the Orange Order in Huddersfield. Further to this, the census returns generally suggests thtat the Irish population were mainly Catholic, (will be discussed later in the chapter) which perhaps explains why religious persecution was uncommon there. The Catholics of Bradford retaliated to this treatment by preserving their identity via the church, which clearly was their survival mechanism and corroborates Hickey's earlier theory of how they protected themselves. Their priests and nuns fulfilled a number of roles. They were their spiritual leaders, bankers, insurers and spokesmen for the community. 'In return, the Catholic Church, unlike other congregations retained the loyalty of its communicants.'[601] This loyalty was shown as previously suggested by the generous financial contribution of the congregation who in truth could ill-afford it. Even though their 'contributions were small, they have been given with a willing heart.'[602] These donations were raised by weekly outdoor collections.[603] This again visibly proves that the Catholics regularly supported their church and since this occurred in other Irish areas too it must have been an Irish trait to treat the church in this manner. The Irish obviously had instilled in them

[600] 'A Letter to the Catholics of Huddersfield from their priests on the occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the arrival of the first resident priest in Huddersfield' (Held in St. Patrick's Huddersfield), 24 September, 1978.
[601] David James, *Bradford* (Halifax, Ryburn Publishing Ltd., 1990), p. 84.
[602] J. B. Brannigan, *Catholicism in Bradford 1825 – 125, Centenary of St. Mary's East Parade, Bradford, A Record of Progress* (Bradford, Lonsdale & Bartholomew Ltd., 1925), p. 6 – 7.
[603] Ibid.

a deep respect for their religious beliefs which was upheld by the population wherever they settled.

The Irish Catholic commitment has been commented on but what is known about Irish Protestant in Huddersfield? It is difficult however to determine how many Irish Protestants settled in the area although analysis of the census returns suggest that there were not many. There were occasional references to people being ministers but on the whole assumptions are made primarily on people's surnames. Obviously, this is not an accurate judgement but taking into consideration MacRaild's theory on where the Protestant Irish settled in the nineteenth century, Huddersfield would have been an unlikely destination point. In his mind, Protestants were attracted to towns with similar industries to those that they had left in Ireland. He maintains that there was a cultural link between Ulster and Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth century due to their shared history and the fact that both areas had textiles and ship-building located within and therefore Scotland was an attractive place to migrate to.[604] In addition, he states that there was a fall in migration from Ulster after the Famine and that the area represented only 5 per cent of the total number of Irish that migrated from Ireland from 1881 – 1901.[605]

Henry Mayhew referred to the provinces of Munster, Leinster and Connacht in Ireland as the Catholic provinces.[606] This implies that the remaining province Ulster was a Protestant province. The 1851 census rarely mentioned the exact birthplace of the people but analysis of the marriage records at St. Patrick's and the odd recording by the enumerator

[604] MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, p. 104.
[605] Ibid., p. 107.
[606] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor – Selections made and introduced by Victor Neuburg* (London, Penguin Books, 1985), p. 143.

suggest that a portion of the Irish in Huddersfield did indeed come from 'the Catholic provinces'.[607]

In conclusion, how important then, was religion in the lives of the Irish in Huddersfield? Historians are divided in their opinion. Principally, the Irish immigrants in England and Wales in the 1840s were mainly Catholic. There is some evidence in the Huddersfield census that there were a limited number of Irish Protestants residing in the area. There is conflicting confirmation on whether the Irish were good at attending church. The religious census of 1851 suggests that the Irish Catholics in Huddersfield were for the most part good at attending church. Admittedly, this was a religious census for only one particular day and the limitations which were identified by Wolffe have been addressed. Nonetheless, this document gives us an impression of the commitment of the Catholics in Huddersfield to attending church.

Further investigation of the church records at St. Patrick's, Huddersfield confirm that there was an increase in demand for the sacraments of baptism and marriage which was attributed to the influx of Irish to the town. It is not known whether people were just attending church to receive the sacraments alone but nonetheless there were an increase in demand for them as has been clearly displayed in Table 5.2. Since the church had already been built, the Catholics in the town didn't have to donate funds towards the construction of the church but even so they still were required to give funds to pay towards its upkeep which it is assumed that they did based on Supple-Green's statement of the willingness of the Irish to donate to their church.

Varying statistics are given on the numbers of Irish who attended church prior to the famine. Without a doubt both emigration and the death toll of the Famine had a massive impact on the Catholic Church. Both Sheridan Gilley and Emmet Larkin are of opinion that

[607] St. Patrick's Church Catholic Registry of Marriages, Huddersfield 1828 – 1853.

Archbishop Cullen was instrumental in changing the Irish Catholic Church. Gilley argues that Cullen was responsible for converting the Irish to Christianity.[608] Further to this, he believes that Cullen created an international Catholic Church.[609] In his mind, during the nineteenth century in Ireland, there was an increase in the number of Catholic charities, good works, and religious orders but in particular in nuns.[610] D. W. Miller supports Larkin's argument by arguing that after the Famine, there could have been more priests. Clearly, Gilley is likeminded, more priests and nuns could explain how the Catholic Church became international. Not only did the ordinary Irish emigrate but the clergy did too and thus were able to administer to their countrymen and women in their own native tongue. By doing so, they earned the respect of their congregation and in Raphael Samuel's mind created a link between themselves and Ireland. The commitment of priests to their sick flock was further proof of the bond that existed between the church and its parishioners.

The experiences of the Irish in Huddersfield and Bradford were very different. Namely the Catholics were welcomed to Huddersfield but not to Bradford where they endured discrimination for their faith. This was blatantly obvious considering when building St. Patrick's in Bradford, people had to be secretive about their true intentions for the land whereas there was no need for such mystery in Huddersfield. There were only isolated incidents of violence between the Irish and English in Huddersfield yet, Bradford was very different.

In relation to church attendance, both Obelkevich and Fielding maintain that the Irish were not as religious as it is often assumed. In addition, MacRaild and Supple-Green both believe that the Catholic Church in England was unable to cope with the huge influx of

[608] S. Gilley, 'The Roman Catholic Church and the Nineteenth Century Irish Diaspora', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 35, No. 2, April 1984, p. 191.
[609] Ibid., p. 188.
[610] Ibid., p. 190.

Irish people to Britain during the course of the nineteenth century. MacRaild explains that this was why people reverted to doing their own private worship. Gilley states that during the course of the nineteenth century there was an increase in devotion to the Sacred Heart, saying of both the rosary and novenas in Ireland.[611] He continues and argues that the church in Ireland was powerless to do anything about the drunkenness and violence of the Irish and was unable to get the people to abandon their semi-pagan customs or to improve their behaviour at weddings and wakes.[612] This is interesting as these were the elements of Irish behaviour in Britain that enraged the host population the most. It must be said that there is no definite evidence of the Irish worshipping privately but considering the findings of the religious census there appears to have not been any real confirmation of St. Patrick's not having the capacity to provide for their spiritual needs.

All in all, the experience of the Irish in Huddersfield appears very different to that of the Irish in other towns. It was primarily Irish Catholics who were attracted to work in the town whilst few Protestants chose to locate there. MacRaild offers an explanation on why this occurred in that the industries that were located in Scotland were very similar to that of Northern Ireland where the most sizeable number of Protestants lived. In turn, this explains why the Protestants chose to relocate to Scotland rather than Huddersfield. Religious prejudice was uncommon in the town and there is little evidence of active anti-Orangeism.

The church was important to the Irish when they arrived in the town as it provided a social outlet and judging by the church records there was some integration between Catholic Irish and Catholic English. From the marriage records, it is possible on occasions to gain an insight in the route-ways of some of the Irish that settled in Huddersfield when they had

[611] S. Gilley, 'The Roman Catholic Church and the Nineteenth Century Irish Diaspora', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 35, No. 2, April 1984, p. 190.
[612] Ibid., p. 191.

families still left in Ireland. There is also evidence that the priest was a key figure in the lives of the people and it is argued that the accessibility of the church in Huddersfield meant that this was much more likely. The priest was regarded by the Irish generally in a favourable manner and the concern of the priest extended into attempting to alleviate the dependence of some on alcohol which led to the establishment of anti-temperance societies. Some of the priests risked their lives for their congregation and sometimes died doing their duty. Religion and the Irish were clearly inter-twined and the Catholic church of the town was altered by the existence of the Irish in the town. It would therefore appear that religion was a vital part of the lives of the Irish Catholics of Huddersfield from the evidence available and in turn helped to establish and organise the Irish community.

CHAPTER 6:

HOW AND WHERE THE IRISH LIVED: THE IRISH IN HUDDERSFIELD

The living circumstances of the Irish were very different in England compared to Ireland. At home they usually had a house to themselves but in England, poverty often drove them to share accommodation with other families. Lynn Hollen Lees maintains that after 1815, the Irish who moved to Britain; settled mainly in urban areas. In her mind, the industrial revolution posed enormous difficulties but 'the Irish seemed to bring with them a host of intense social problems to compound the difficulties of the cities that received them.'[613] She continues that 'the Irish strained facilities and social relationships already hard pressed by the effects of industrial and demographic revolutions.'[614] Swift shares this viewpoint. He adds that the scale of Irish immigration during the course of the Famine worsened social problems of British cities. In his mind, although the Irish were not to blame for the problems of urban life, they were, however, regarded as a 'burden' on poor rates and whenever possible were sent home. However, he states that after 1860, this was not the case except for in Scotland who continued to repatriate the Irish.[615] Thus, it would seem that the Scottish were far less tolerant of the Irish than the English were, a view which is supported by the Huddersfield evidence.

What were living conditions like for the Irish in Britain? Lees suggests that in London 'most were relegated to the side streets and back alleys of their neighbourhoods.'[616] In addition, they remained separate from their English neighbours, 'they lived close to the English, but they remained apart.'[617] Furthermore, she argues that Irish labourers' houses were more crowded than their English counter-parts but does not elaborate on why this was

[613] Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Immigrants in Victorian London* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1979), p. 15.
[614] Ibid., p. 16.
[615] Roger Swift, *The Irish in Britain 1815 – 1914: Perspectives and Sources* (London, Historical Association, 1990), p. 20 – 21.
[616] Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 63.
[617] Ibid.

the case. Nonetheless, shortage of space forced families to move on to the street and use it as a playground, drying area and more importantly, a place to communicate with their neighbours. Accordingly, they formed an Irish community, created friendships, who assisted and supported one another to such an extent that they willingly helped pay for a funeral if someone could not afford to do so.[618]

What was it like elsewhere in Britain? W. J. Lowe's thesis on the Irish in Lancashire observes that conditions were not good for those Irish who went to Liverpool. 'None of Lancashire's urban districts were ideal for human habitation.'[619] In his mind, this was because of a drainage problem; which was further aggravated by the privies being rarely cleaned.[620] Liverpool had lots of courts, most of which 'were very narrow and closed at both ends, a small, covered entrance or archway usually being its only opening to the street. Very few were open at even one end, and still fewer at both ends to admit a through draught of air. The piles of refuse almost floating on stagnant puddles, producing obnoxious odours and breeding disease, went uncleaned even by a breadth of fresh air, which only made the miserable state of the courts and their inhabitants worse. A greater problem still was the inhabited cellars.'[621] Not surprisingly, he adds that life expectancy was short as a result of these factors.[622]

Colin Pooley also asserts that the Irish in Liverpool were 'strongly associated with low social status, multiple-occupancy, courts, and high-density sub-standard housing.'[623] The delay by the authorities in prohibiting the building of courts until 1864 meant that by then, there were 3,073 courts with an estimated population of over 100,000.[624] Lowe concurs with

[618] Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, pp. 82 – 83.
[619] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 23.
[620] Ibid.
[621] Ibid., p. 25.
[622] Ibid., p. 29.
[623] Colin G. Pooley, 'Residential Segregation of Migrant Communities in mid-Victorian Liverpool', *Transactions of Institute of British Geographers*, 25 February, 1977, p. 371.
[624] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 36.

Pooley, 'the Irish were more likely to be found in courts than the native population, which indicates that they very often resorted to the most inexpensive housing available, particularly in Liverpool.'[625] Lowe continues to explain that a growth in population in Liverpool resulted in non-Irish being required to live in courts too. Moreover, the intention may not have been to use the cellars as homes; nonetheless, the Irish had a reputation for living in them.[626]

Why did the Irish accept such accommodation? Hickey argues that Irish people were much less particular than the English: 'Although the native British workmen did not have a high standard of living, the Irish were prepared to accept an even lower standard.'[627] But is he right and if so, why did the Irish choose to live in cramped, overcrowded housing? Mervyn Busteed's study of Manchester offers a possible explanation; since the majority of the Irish were in poorly paid jobs, they were thus forced in live in the poorer areas of Manchester, to save money they resorted to multiple occupation of property.[628] Michael Nolan adds that the same happened in Huddersfield; the Irish were forced to live together, they could not afford houses as they had the worst jobs.

Another argument was that poverty or shortage of housing could result in families doubling up. [629] However, an interesting point raised by Pauline E. Freeman is since census returns did not specify how many rooms were in a house until 1891, this meant that it was hard to find out how many people were actually living together as a result.[630] Interestingly, Lowe's investigation of the census illustrated that when houses were headed by women, (either Irish or non-Irish), there were more likely to be people doubling up.[631] Further to this, in his mind, the Irish were more likely to take in lodgers than the non-Irish, though even so,

[625] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 78.
[626] Ibid., p. 80.
[627] John Hickey, *Urban Catholics: Urban Catholicism in England and Wales from 1829 to the present day* (London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1967) , p. 42
[628] Mervyn Busteed, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century Manchester', *Irish Studies Review*, No. 18, (Spring 1997), p. 11.
[629] Ibid, p. 95.
[630] Ibid.
[631] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 76.

25 per cent of the non-Irish took in lodgers in the mid-nineteenth century.[632] He concluded that the Irish were able to deal with overcrowding and 'had a remarkable capacity for enduring overcrowded houses.'

What was it like to be Irish and live in Huddersfield? On the following pages, there are various maps that show what the town looked like and where the lodging houses were located in 1851. It is clear from the investigation in Table 6.1 (see p. 321), that Nolan is broadly right in Huddersfield, certain streets were indeed attractive to Irish people and that Jowitt Square was particularly popular with them. Judging by the numbers given, the people must have been heavily crammed together; 154 people lived in the square and of these, 114 were Irish.[633] Naturally, families extended; some of the children were born in Ireland, others *en route* to the town or else after they arrived. The above figures illustarate that there were a significant number of Irish descendants; in light of the difference between the numbers of Irish and total number of people. Unmistakably, there were indeed more Irish living in the town since many of the second generation would have considered themselves to be Irish. Nonetheless, the numbers of Irish was still low, as demonstrated by the second total. Although people lived close to one another in Huddersfield; this occurred due to the limited options available to the migrants. It was not an intentional action to form a 'ghetto' and prejudice did not compel them to live close to one another. In short, there was not enough Irish living in the town to form a true 'ghetto'.

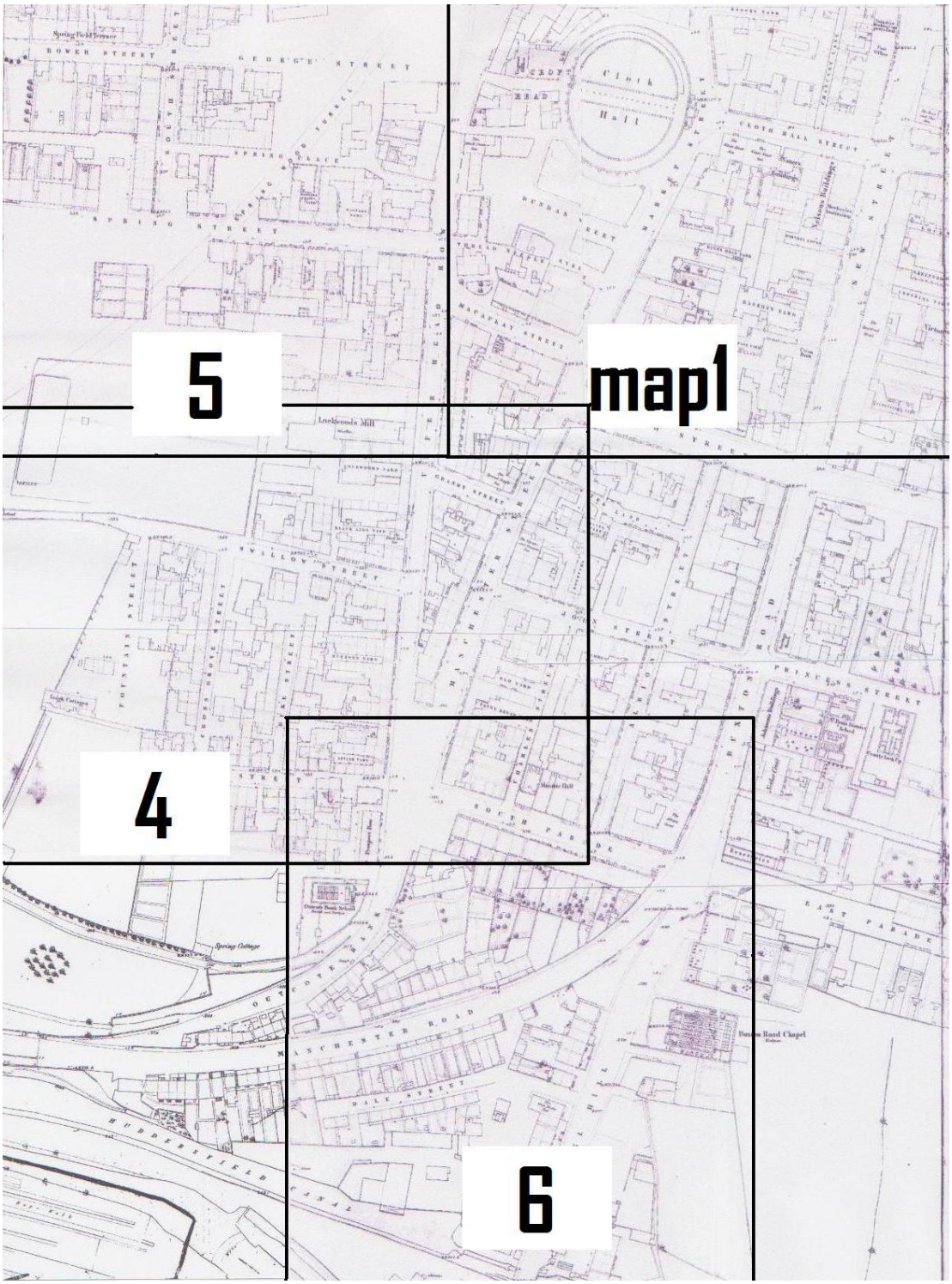
[632] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 91.
[633] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851, HO 107/2295, Folios 311 – 471.

Map of Huddersfield 1851 (Part 1)[634]

[634] All Maps taken from Huddersfield Local History Library, (HL H L)

Map of Huddersfield 1851 (Part 2)

Key to Lodging Houses' Maps[635]



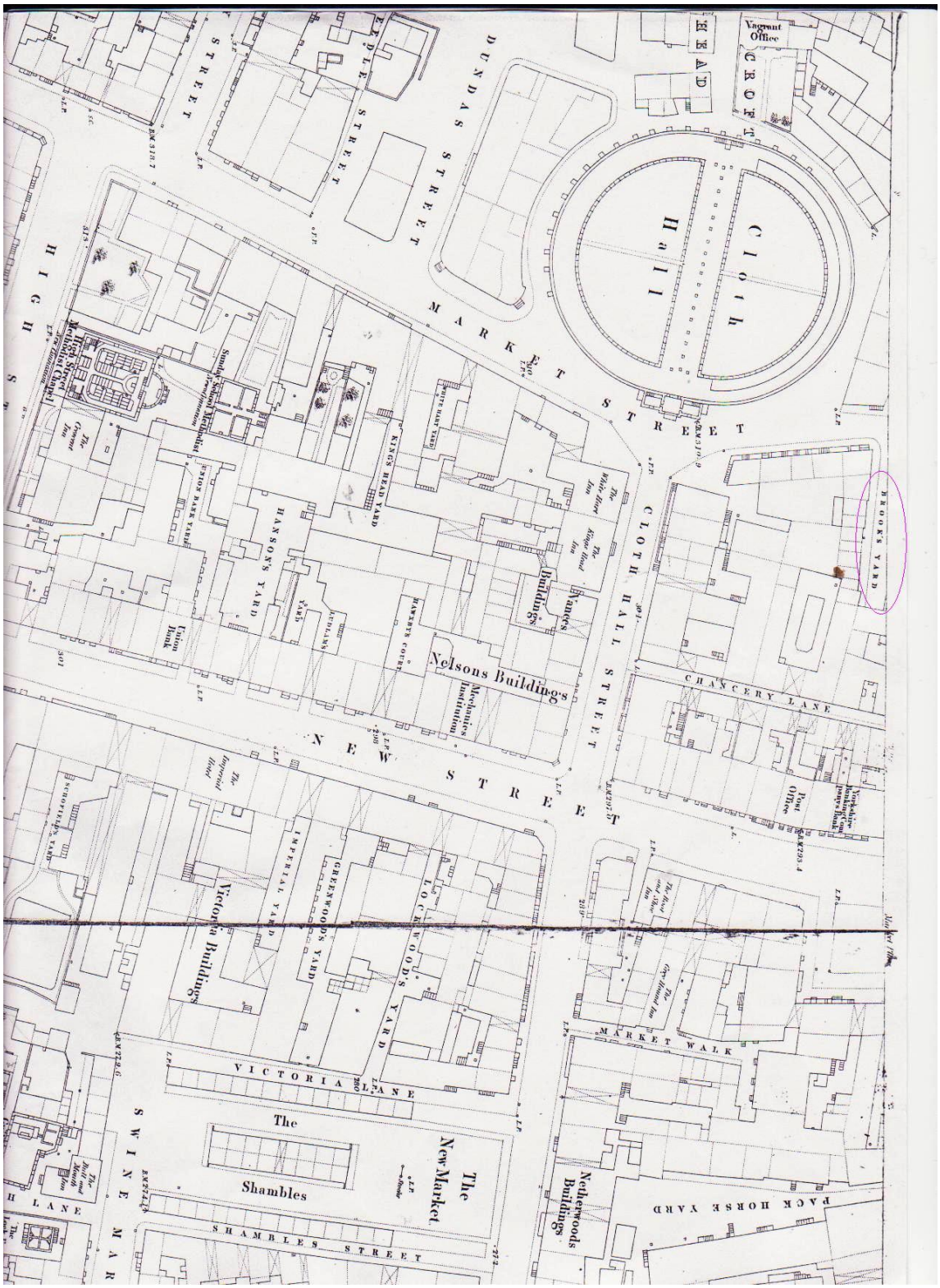
[635] Map of Huddersfield, 1851; Courtesy of HLHL.

Key to Lodging Houses' Maps [636]

[636] Map of Huddersfield, 1851; Courtesy of HLHL.

Location of Irish Lodging Houses 1 (Close Ups of Streets)

Brook's Yard



Location of Irish Lodging Houses 2

Castle Gate, Shore Head, Kirkgate, Boulder's Yard, Post Office Yard, Chadwick Fold.

Location of Irish Lodging Houses 3

The White Lion Hotel

Location of Irish Lodging Houses 4

Manchester Street & Swallow Street

Location of Irish Lodging Houses 5

Upper Head Row

Location of Irish Lodging Houses 6

The Grey Horse Inn

Table 6.1 (see p. 321) identifies the streets where the Irish lived and total number of people living in each street. From this information, it is possible to glean that there were indeed Irish in each of the streets; but some streets moreso than others. Lowe concludes from his study of Widnes; that in small towns, the Irish would always be in close proximityof one another.[637] Thus in light of this, Huddersfield's size would have meant that this theory was relevant there too. Of course, some Irish deliberately may have chosen to live near family members. Furthermore, Lowe considers it unlikely that the Irish in Widnes would have wanted to isolate themselves completely from the rest of the population.[638] Similarly, in Huddersfield, there is no evidence to corroborate that there was a conscious decision to cut off the two communities from one another. Instead, the main priority was as Lowe suggests, to find affordable housing in the town.

What were conditions like for the Irish in Huddersfield? Nolan mentions that the Irish lived in cellars and that because of overcrowding diseases spread. In 1851, the Common Lodging House Act was introduced by the Improvement Commissioners to determine how many people could stay in a house and how many rooms would be used for lodging purposes. It also stipulated that a kitchen, scullery or basement could not be used for sleeping.[639] The existence of such a clause suggests that they must have once been used as bedrooms adding substance to Nolan's argument of how the Irish lived. The Act also required lodging house keepers to be registered; who in turn had to ensure their houses were cleaned, ventilated and that water was provided to their lodgers. Further to this, they were instructed that when there were more than 20 lodgers, a separate privy was needed, water closets were to be kept clean and there was to be adequate drainage, yards were to be paved and anyone with contagious diseases were to be reported to the Inspector of the Common Lodging houses and Poor law

[637] Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire', p. 111.
[638] Ibid., p. 113.
[639] Minutes of Hackney Coach & Lodging House Regulation Committee, 21 January, 1852, p. 40 & 41.

Medical Officer.[640] Plainly, the authorities realised that something had to be done to attempt alleviate the problems that the poor lodging houses were causing. [641]

Despite these improvements in the 1850s, a Medical Officer of Health was not appointed in Huddersfield until March 1873 and only then to comply with statutory requirements based on the size of the township. John Benson Pritchett was given the job and received an annual salary of £200. This position was not a full-time post; he could take private work on the condition that it did not interfere with his role as Medical Officer.[642] Pritchett was from York and his family had already had strong links with Huddersfield since his father was the architect of both the railway station and parish church. Pritchett strongly believed that 'the terrible medical and social problems of his day could be solved by better housing, good drains, clean water and plenty of fresh air.'[643] Even though, infant mortality was no worse than elsewhere, it concerned the Medical Officer and was something he felt needed attention. Pritchett appears to have been enthusiastic in his role and driven to improve the circumstances that the people of the town were living in. He was particularly worried about people living in cellar dwellings and desired that 'Kirkgate, Boulder's Yard, Chadwick's Fold, Dog Lane Yard and Horse Shoe Yard should be washed out and disinfected once or twice a week.'[644] Interestingly, these areas were occupied by people of Irish descent.[645]

Pritchett believed that light and ventilation were essential to improve the health situation of the town. During an outbreak of scarlet fever, the Medical Officer was assisted by Fr. Wells, the local priest who shared his concerns about the effects of the disease on his Irish

[640] Minutes of Hackney Coach , 21 January 1852, Huddersfield Archives, p. 40 & 41.
[641] See Maps at Start of Chapter 6 (see pps. 206 - 215) which show the location of Lodging Houses.
[642] J. B. Eagles, *John Benson Pritchett – First Medical Officer of Health* (Huddersfield, Huddersfield Local History Workshop, 1984), p. 1.
[643] Ibid., p. 2.
[644] Ibid., p. 10
[645] Ibid.

parishioners. Here again, as mentioned in chapter 5 is further proof of the importance of the priest and the lengths they went to in their concern for the welfare of their parishioners. As yet, people were uncertain of what caused diseases such as scarlet fever and considering that the reservoir for the town was not completed until 1875, the water people consumed was contaminated which undoubtedly exacerbated the crisis. Pritchett urged that a proper fever hospital be constructed but his pleas were ignored. Instead, people only had access to a poor building in a bad state of repair.[646] Clearly, if Pritchett's requests had been heeded the plight of the local inhabitants may have been dramatically altered. A separate hospital would have helped contain contagious diseases but admitting sick people to a poorly maintained building increases the likelihood of aggravating their illnesses even further.

Both the appointment of a Medical Officer and conditions placed on Lodging House Keepers proves that the authorities were attempting to alleviate the difficulties of their townspeople. The following extracts from the minutes of the Lodging House Regulation Committee provide additional proof that cellars were used as homes in Huddersfield. In view of their surnames both women were probably Irish. In turn, this street appears to have been favoured by the Irish. According to the census details, it was the joint second most populated area by the Irish and 101 Irish people lived in the street. Honor Kelly of Windsor Court's request was denied as her home 'consisted of one room and that a cellar dwelling and the Inspector of Common Lodging House reported that he could not approve of the use …… as a common lodging house.' [647] Again, in Windsor Court, Mr. Thomas the Inspector of Lodging Houses reported on the conditions that Mary Burke lived in. 'There were two beds in the cellar, herself and 3 children, the oldest about 9 years of age occupying one bed, and two lodgers occupying the other bed, one he knew to be a convicted thief. It was resolved that

[646] Eagles, *John Benson Pritchett*, p. 17.
[647] Minutes of Hackney Coach, 21 February, 1854.

Mary Burke be notified at the next committee to suspend her house.'[648] It is perfectly reasonable to comprehend why neither, Mary or Honor's lodging houses were permitted. Neither one was suitable for such purposes, but the ladies both evidently needed the money that the lodgers could provide.

Photo 1: Windsor Court in 1910

Photo 2: – Windsor Court in 1910 [649]

Huddersfield was a town of more than 36,000 people, although about 108,000 people lived in the larger Huddersfield Union. Since only 250 people resided in the workhouse, this suggests that every attempt was made to avoid going there.[650] This however was not the only type of assistance available in the area as 'outdoor relief' was also provided. Angus Bethune Reach's provides an insight into what the town was like. He too believes that

[648] Minutes of Hackney Coach, 9 October, 1854.
[649] www.kirkleesimages.org.uk (Note: Although it is 60 years after, it demonstrates that the buildings were generally two storeys high, it is not clear whether there are cellars there or not).
[650] Angus Bethune Reach, *Fabrics, Filth & Fairy Tents: The Yorkshire Textile Districts in 1849*, edited by Chris Aspin (Hebden Bridge, Royd Press, 2007), p. 3.

the main industry in the area was the manufacture of wool, with some cotton and silk spinning. In his mind, because the town had been built up over the last sixty years, it was not well built. 'The houses inhabited by the factory hands of Huddersfield consist in most cases of a large parlour-kitchen opening from the streets, with a cellar beneath it, and either two small bedrooms or one large one above.'[651]

Reach adds that 'there are a considerable number of 'low Irish' in Huddersfield, but the effect of the sanitary reform measures in process of being carried out, is to drive them forth from the borough into the adjacent townships, where they cannot be hindered from pigging together on the floors of garrets and cellars by dozens and scores.'[652] He carries on to make a comparison between how the Irish and English lived; circumstances may have compelled an English family to live in a court primarily favoured by the Irish, all the same, there was a distinct difference in how they maintained their property. The English family may have been poor but their home was clean. In contrast, the Irish were lazy and dirty.[653] Unmistakably, Reach was not very complimentary of the Irish but in turn he confirms that the use of cellars was not isolated to Huddersfield, but occurred in surrounding towns too. Since Steven Burt and Kevin Grady's book *Illustrated History of Leeds* indicates that there were Irish people living in cellars there too, clearly the use of cellars was not purely a Huddersfield phenomenon.

Aside from this, Burt and Grady highlight that a lack of sewers and sanitation resulted in spreading diseases commonly referred to as the 'Irish fever'. In Rev. Francis X. Singleton's description of Huddersfield, he explains that 'in 1837 the district was infested with typhus …. and was still rampant in many other parts of England.[654] Seemingly, not even

[651] Reach, *Fabrics, Filth & Fairy Tents,* p. 5.
[652] Ibid., p. 9.
[653] Ibid., p. 14.
[654] Rev. Francis X. Singleton, *Historical Record of St. Patrick's 1832 – 1932* (Huddersfield, Swindlehurst & Nicholson Printers, 1932), pp. 18 – 19.

the priests in the area could evade the disease. In 1838, Rev. John Fitzpatrick died from typhus after catching it from one of his flock.[655] Plainly, the situation was grim even before the mass Irish influx of the 1840s and typhus was a common problem in poor areas. Thus, the Irish were not responsible for the spread of the disease and it was wrongly labelled as an 'Irish fever'.

Later, in 1847, there was another serious outbreak of typhus in the diocese and St. Patrick's church in Leeds lost seven priests to the disease.[656] The disease broke out in very poor areas of the diocese where coincidentally the population were mainly Irish. Smiliarly, in York, the Irish lived in areas affected by typhus and as a result resentment was shown towards them. Frances Finnegan outlines that 'in 1847, the Irish and their filthy homes were to blame for the outbreak of the disease'[657]. However, she like Anne Hardy (whose explanation on typhus was outlined in the introduction) argues in defence of the Irish. Finnegan maintains that there had been typhus in the area a year before the Irish arrived and that it was unsanitary conditions rather than the Irish that were responsible for its outbreak.[658] She continues to indicate that in 1845 the polluted river caused the disease but yet two years later, the Irish were blamed for its recurrence. In reality, she admits that both the poor health and poverty of the immigrants in 1847/8 accelerated the problem

Typhus was not the only troublesome disease as demonstrated in the following table 6.2. The *Morning Chronicle* in 1849 identifies various towns throughout the country that were affected by people dying from cholera and diarrhoea.[659]

[655] Singleton, *Historical Record of St. Patrick's*, p. 18.
[656] Ibid., p. 22.
[657] Frances Finnegan, *Poverty & Prejudice: A Study of Irish Immigrants in York 1840 – 1975* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1982), p.26.
[658] Ibid.
[659] *Morning Chronicle*, 24 September 1849 - www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/21cc/publichealth/sources/source2/table.html

Table 6.2:

ENGLAND AND WALES.

RETURN of Deaths from Cholera and Diarrhœa reported to the General Board of Health this 22d day of September.

SUPERINTENDENT REGISTRAR'S DISTRICT.

	DEATHS.	
	Cholera.	Diarrhœa.
Alderbury	1	0
Aston	0	1
Bakewell	0	1
Barnet	0	2
Barnstaple	1	0
Basford	0	1
Bedford	1	0
Bedminster	2	0
Birmingham	1	0
Blackburn	0	1
Boughton (Great)	0	1
Bradford and North Bierley	6	0
Brentford	2	0
Bridge	0	1
Bridgwater	4	0
Bridport	1	0
Bristol	4	1
Caistor	1	0
Cambridge	0	1
Carlisle	0	1
Carmarthen	1	0
Chichester	1	0
Chorlton	3	3
Clifton	3	1
Cockermouth	13	0
Coventry	6	1
Darlington	0	2
Dewsbury	0	1
Doncaster	1	0
Dover	1	0
Dudley	6	4
Ecclesfield	2	0
Erpingham	1	0
Falmouth	1	0
Faversham	0	1
Gainsborough	1	0
Gateshead	5	1
Glanford Brigg	1	0
Hailsham	1	0
Hastings	0	1
Haverfordwest	2	0
Hemel Hempstead	2	0
Hendon	0	1
Hitchin	2	1
Holywell	3	2
Hoo	1	0
Huddersfield	2	0
Hull	18	1
Hunslet	15	1
Ipswich	1	0
Launceston	1	0
Leeds	16	3
Leicester	0	2
Leigh, near Manchester	0	1
Liskeard	1	0
Lincoln	1	1
Liverpool	5	3
Llanelly	0	1

In total, 335 people died of cholera, whilst there were 86 fatalities from diarrhoea in England and Wales. Noticeably, Wolverhampton seems to have had a big problem with cholera (outbreaks of the diseases were rare and indiscriminate of class) considering 39 people were affected, yet, it only had one case of diarrhoea. In Yorkshire, the key three towns of Bradford, Leeds and Huddersfield have been highlighted with a star. Huddersfield didn't appear to have too much of a problem with either of the illnesses.

Additional information on life in Leeds is provided in Edwin Chadwick's *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain,* 'brother and sisters, and lodgers of both sexes, are found occupying the same sleeping-room with the parents, and consequences do occur which humanity shudders to contemplate.'[660] J. H. Treble confirms that the 'high sickness and mortality rates owed much, …, to the insalubrious environment in which the poor lived'. [661] This was aggravated further in his mind by 'the Irishman's failure to abandon habits which he had acquired in rural Ireland'.[662] In short, they kept pigs in cellars and Reach adds to this argument, that the Irish living close together was detrimental to the sanitary reform being implemented in Huddersfield in the 1840s.

Treble believes that all these factors contributed to the difficulties of the Irish. This was exacerbated by the Irish being satisfied with their lot. 'They remained content with a way of life which had almost inevitably pushed them below the poverty line.'[663] He agrees with the Cornwall Lewis report's findings that some Irish were responsible for making themselves poor by not being good at managing their money whilst others were addicted to drink.[664] Others noticed Irish acceptance of their predicament, in fact, 'the Leeds Benevolent and

[660] Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain,* p. 359 - www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/21cc/publichealth/sources/source2/table.html
[661] J. H. Treble, 'The Place of the Irish Catholics in the Social Life' (unpublished doctoral thesis, School of History, University of Leeds, 1968) p. 88.
[662] Ibid., p. 89.
[663] Ibid., p. 115.
[664] Ibid., p. 113.

Strangers' Friend Society became so accustomed to the idea that Irishmen were satisfied with a lower standard of living than Englishmen, that it based its relief policy on this premise.'[665] It would seem that the acceptance by some Irish people to their plight was detrimental to the whole community. Similarly, their fondness for drink resulted in some getting into trouble with the law. In short, the habits of some were collated so that they were all perceived the same.

When referring to the health problems of the Irish, Treble argues that 'the Irish … apart from being exposed to the minor ailments of life had a bad bill of health .., they were victims of their own property and the unsanitary environment in which they were forced to live.'[666] Cholera as explained earlier is infrequent and indiscriminate since it is connected to water consumption. However, the areas the Irish lived in meant that they were affected by the disease; it was not their nationality's fault. Further problems were caused by the Irish wake tradition and their refusal to allow people to go to hospital.[667] Infectious diseases were spread during a wake as the coffin was left open in the family home until the person was taken to the Church for the burial ceremony. Until the removal of the coffin, extended family and friends visit the house to pray and 'toast' the deceased. Usually, the women were responsible for providing tea and food while the men drink alcohol. Often, traditional music was played in the background. Understandably, any contagious diseases could easily spread due to the exposed corpse remaining in a confined space and high death rates could follow. The death of the priests in Leeds and Huddersfield during typhus epidemics indicates the possible impact the tradition of open coffins had on some of the mourners.

What was the common denominator responsible for the spread of diseases? Poverty results in infections spreading rapidly and judging by the information in Chadwick's

[665] Treble, 'The Place of the Irish Catholics', p. 121.
[666] Ibid., p. 173.
[667] Ibid., p. 175.

description of Leeds, the Irish were not the only ones who lived in appalling conditions causing them to contract diseases. 'Let a poor family, consisting of a man, his wife, and seven children two or three of whom are adolescent be occupying one of these chambers, in a *cul-de- sac*, or in an undrained and unpaved street, seven human beings, each requiring 600 cubic feet of breathing room, shut up in a chamber not containing more than 1000 people for the whole.'[668]

Nonetheless, around the time of the 'Famine', poverty forced the Leeds Irish to live in alleyways around Kirkgate close to the market. 'Desperate for shelter, they resorted to erecting shanties, copies of the turf cabins they had left behind, among the courts and alleys.'[669] It has already been indicated that the Irish found life very different in England. Instead of open fields and countryside, they were faced with cramped accommodation in airless towns and cities. From the above, it is evident that some tried to re-capture their former life by building shacks akin to those that they had left behind in Ireland.

It does seem that the Irish migrant encountered the same situation wherever the settled in Britain. This was undoubtedly because they were attracted to live in towns and cities where the Industrival Revolution had made employment opportunities available. 'Of the estimated 400,000 that had arrived by 1851, 100,000 of these were deemed to be living in London in appalling conditions. Liverpool and Leeds soaked up most of the rest. Markedly, the destination points were unable to cope with the huge influx of migrants. As a result, the Irish that went to Hull lived in 'primitive hovels'.[670] A shortage of housing meant that people resorted to building their own homes. Like in Leeds, the Irish of Hull reverted back to erecting the type of houses that they were familiar with.

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[668] Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, p. 359 - www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/21cc/publichealth/sources/source2/table.html
[669] Steven Burt & Kevin Grady, *Illustrated History of Leeds* (Derby, Breedon Books, 1994), p. 155.
[670] Marie McClelland,' Catholic Education in Victorian Hull', in *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension* ed, ed. by Roger Swift & Sheridan Gilley (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999), p. 102.

Evidently something needed to be done. Len Markham argues that the government, spurred on by Edwin Chadwick's report on sanitary conditions of the labouring classes, 'recognised the need to improve public health in the slums and it became mandatory for builders to provide fixed facilities in new houses – ash closets, privies or water closets.'[671] Is this correct or did the stipulation merely apply to new houses?

Is there any other evidence available on medical concerns in Huddersfield in the nineteenth century? Unfortunately, there are no public medical records for the 1850s and 60s. However, from 1877, the Medical Officer produced annual reports that provide an insight into what conditions were like then. Furthermore, the reports also indicate that common problems were still a concern more than twenty years later. It has already been addressed that it was necessary to appoint a Medical Officer in a township the size of Huddersfield. In turn, by employing them, they were helping alleviate further outbreaks of diseases that had been inflicting the area. There is confirmation of their usefulness in the minutes of the medical officer on 13 February, 1878, where it was noted that schoolchildren were provided with preventative information on how to avoid catching scarlet fever, evidently a concern at that time. 'Where necessary, cases of contagious diseases have been taken into hospital; this of course had the double advantage of removing a source of danger from the neighbourhood, and of placing the patients themselves under conditions more favourable to their recovery.'[672] Without a doubt, lessons had been learnt on the gravity of diseases and the need for precaution was taken on board. The requirements of both the *Improvement Act* and *Lodging House Regulation Committee* (which will later be discussed) had been heeded and the necessary procedures were followed by the Health Officer.

[671] Len Markham, *Yorkshire Privies; A Nostalgic trip down the Garden Path* (Newbury, Berkshire, Countryside Books, 1996), p. 15.
[672] Annual Reports of the Medical Officer of Health Borough of Huddersfield 1877, J. Spottiswoode Cameron, 13 February, 1878, Huddersfield Archives (H.A.), p. 6.

J. Spottiswoode Cameron, the then Health Officer, interestingly provided statistics on the deaths in children under 1 in 1877 in the previously mentioned Annual Reports. To enable him to do this, he divided the year into quarters. Seemingly, in the first quarter from January to March, there were 14.26 deaths to each 100 births. The next quarter, April to June saw a decrease to 13.76, whilst July to September witnessed an increase to 15.11. But more dramatically, in the last quarter of the year the death rate escalated to 17.9 thus proving that during the winter months there was a significant increase in the number of deaths. The average number of deaths in the year was cited as 15.3.[673] The reason for such an increase in deaths in the winter was bronchitis. Undoubtedly, poor living conditions accelerated the spread of bronchitis and children under five appear to have been the most vulnerable.

Other diseases that existed and affected children, according to the medical reports were Phthisis and diseases of the nervous system. It is not clear what constitutes diseases of the nervous system; however, phthisis is 'a progressive wasting disease, especially pulmonary consumption.'[674] Again, this disease would have been caused by the poor conditions of the day.

In conjunction with the Medical Officer, there was a Chief Sanitary Inspector who also did his best to improve the plight of the Huddersfield population. He reported that there was an improvement in the volumes of smoke being emitted from chimneys but there was still further room for improvement. The conditions of slaughter houses were in his opinion in fair condition. He further added that there were 989 incidents of nuisance, 162 were rectified by the distribution of verbal warnings but 827 required legal notices.[675] The emptying of privies and ash pits had improved and the health situation was enhanced by better ventilation,

[673] Annual Reports of the Medical Officer, p. 6.
[674] *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, Fifth Edition (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 914.
[675] Annual Report made to Urban Sanitary Authority of the Borough of Huddersfield by Edwin George Kirk, Chief Sanitary Inspector, 1877, H. A., p. 27.

the removing of piggeries from unhealthy circumstances and the sorting out of houses with infectious diseases. He had deemed it necessary after inspecting 460 houses and cellar dwellings that notices be served requiring the ventilation of cellars and other dwellings.[676] It is not blatant from the last statistic how many dwellings were actually cellars, but undisputedly they were used as Nolan had declared. There is no evidence, however, to confirm that cellars were the exclusive homes of the Irish. Nolan was therefore right in his assertion that diseases did spread because of overcrowding and the authorities too realised this and appointed various health inspectors to help eradicate the problems.

The *Huddersfield Improvement Act of 1848* endeavoured to regulate the lighting and cleansing situation. The Minutes of the Lighting and Fire Committee, (see Table 6.3), refers to an interesting survey on the lighting situation in the town at that time. It recorded whether there were lights or not in a street, how dark it was; how many posts and brackets were required and the total number of new lights that would be needed.

Table 6.3: For the erection of new and additional lamps[677]

Name of Street	Present Number of Lights	Totally Dark	Posts	Brackets	Total Number of New Lights
Princess Street	None	Yes	1	-	1
Jowitts Court	None	Yes	-	1	1
Connor's Yard, Swallow Street	None	Yes	1	-	1
Barker's Yard, Upper Head Row	None	Yes	1	-	1
Jowitt's Yard, CastleGate	None	Yes	-	1	1
Windsor Court	None	Yes	2	-	2
Old Post Office Yard			1	1	2
Chadwick Fold, Kirkgate	None	Yes	1	-	1
York Place			1	-	1

[676] Annual Report made to Urban Sanitary, p. 29.
[677] Huddersfield Improvement Act 1848: Minutes of Lighting and Fire Committee, 29 December, 1848, H. A.

<u>Photo 3</u>: Post Office Yard (c.1910) [678] (Street referred to in Table 6.3)
From this image, it is clear that conditions were very primitive and there is little evidence of street lighting

On the whole, there were no lights and the streets were deemed to be dark and lighting was ordered to be placed in all the streets listed, where both the Irish and English locals would have lived. In total, there were 28 listings in the minutes; of these the key Irish areas have been selected to demonstrate what life was like in those particular streets. Admittedly, the details are not totally exact since there were some gaps when the adjudicator didn't specify whether a street had lights or not. On the whole though, it is evident that the streets were very dark and that some key changes occurred as a consequence of the findings of the Lighting Committee. Some of these changes were that assessors were sent around the town to determine what areas required additional lighting; further to this, lamplighters were given orders to turn lights on fully as the minutes of 3 December, 1849 claimed that some were not doing so.

Throughout the minutes, it is evident that the Irish areas gained from the existence of the committee. As a result, lights were erected where they lived, thereby undoubtedly improving the safety of the area. This is confirmed in the following extract where the police requested lighting in Swallow Street, (where many Irish resided). 'Police strongly

[678] www.kirkleesimages.org.uk

recommend that lights should be continued in Chancery Lane, in Market Walk, and in Swallow Street during the few months that the General Lights were not lighted; and this recommendation was made on the ground that the localities named offered unusual facilities for robberies and other irregularities on dark or gloomy evenings.'[679]

It is thus evident that the general conditions in the town were improved by the efforts of the various committees and that there were not only mandatory rules on the building of new houses alone. The authorities evidently recognised that there were problems and that something needed to be done to rectify them. Seemingly, 'the sanitary conditions of the said town and neighbourhood materially improved.'[680]

Following on from the Improvement Act, it was decided that there was a need for 21 Improvement Commissioners in Huddersfield. In order to obtain the position, certain criteria had to be met such as, they had to be elected, be resident within five miles of the Market square, own a certain personal estate, be nominated and appointed by the Lord of the Manor. Aside from these stipulations, the powers of the commissioners were confirmed. 'It shall be lawful for the Commissioners and they are hereby authorized and empowered, for the purpose of lighting the streets within the limits of this Act, … to purchase and provide such and so many lamps … and all such other matters and things for lighting such lamps, either by oil or gas, or in any other manner as they shall judge necessary.'[681]It was the Commissioners's responsibility to determine how long places could be lit for. 'The Commissioners shall and may subject to the provisions of the Act and the Acts incorporated herewith, cause to be lighted, paved, watched, cleansed, sewered, drained, watered, regulated and improved, all streets, courts, passages, and other places within the limits aforesaid, and

[679] Huddersfield Improvement Act 1848: Minutes of Lighting and Fire Committee, 31 May, 1852, H.A.
[680] Huddersfield Improvement Act 1848: *An act for lighting; watching; and cleansing the town of Huddersfield in the West Riding of the County of York, 1848* (George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode, Printer's to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, 1854), Cap. Xcl 1842, H. A.
[681] Ibid., XXII, 1847.

do all necessary acts for promoting the health and convenience of said town and neighbourhood of Huddersfield.'[682] From this, it is evident that the Act merely listed in sequence the powers of the Commissioners. The purpose of the Hackney Coach and Lodging House Regulation Committee was to ensure that there were regulations to improve the health and conditions of the residents and crucially make certain the terms of the *Improvement Act of 1848,* were complied with.

There is supplementary evidence in the Act that cellars were used as residences by people in view of the following clause 'any arch, vault, cellar, or area under any street or footpath within the limits of this Act which shall be ruinous and dangerous shall be repaired by the owner.'[683] An explanation was also given on why the Lodging House Regulation Committee was established, 'where any house .. shall be used as a lodging house for the harbouring or lodging of persons for hire, or a week or for any longer term than one week … and if information shall be laid before any of her majesty's justices of the peace that such lodging-house is not sufficiently ventilated, or that the same is overcrowded or not sufficiently cleansed, and is thereby rendered dangerous to the health of the inmates thereof, or that the same is used for the reception of felons, thieves, prostitutes or other disorderly persons, it shall be lawful for such justice to issue a summons to the keeper of such house, requiring him or her to appear before any one more of her Majesty's justices of the peace to answer such a complaint.'[684] In short, the commissioners could order a lodging house be closed and had the powers to determine whether a lodging house was licensed or registered subject to their rules and inspection. Again, from this, it is plain that the Lodging House Regulation Committee was merely following on from the Act by inspecting all lodging houses to assess how they were being run.

[682] Huddersfield Improvement Act 1848: *An act for lighting;* XXIII, 1847.
[683] Ibid., XXVII, 1848.
[684] Ibid.,XXXIII, 1849.

Another Committee existed called the Nuisance Committee; it was responsible for examining the state of cellar dwellings, determining how privies were constructed and maintained and how pigs were kept. At that time there was a concern about the accumulation of refuse; and there seems to have been a problem with both Irish and English people keeping pigs. In Windsor Court, for instance, it had the following problems, 'insufficient and improperly constructed privies and the keeping of pigs and pig swill tubs, and the accumulation of refuse.'[685] Owners were instructed that they needed to provide enough privies for the tenants and that people were not allowed to keep pigs. Obviously, such restrictions were intended to help improve the life of the tenants and at the same meeting, Mrs. Ann Rhodes of Cross Church Street was ordered to remove a pig sty she had within fourteen days. This instruction against Mrs. Rhodes demonstrates two things; first, an English person was keeping pigs and secondly, she like the Irish was not permitted to do so.

Subsequently, on 29 December, 1848, it was discovered after inspecting the cellars in Windsor Court and Castlegate that both English and Irish people lived there. This conclusion was derived judging by the surnames recorded. In the first example the 'cellar dwelling (let separately) occupied by Dominck Kelly, and owned by Mrs. Hannah Armitage of Castlegate.' In the next, both the tenant and landlord were most likely English; 'a cellar dwelling occupied by Harriet Swallow and owned by Robert Rodgers of Castlegate. These two dwellings are not as bad as the rest in the Court: but as the Act of Parliament contemplates the closing of <u>all</u> cellar dwellings in courts, they will have to share the fate of the rest.'[686] The word all was underlined in the minutes and even though both Dominick and Harriet's homes were not deemed uninhabitable, the authorities had a general rule that was to be applied to all cellars irrespective of their condition. Visibly, their intention was to ensure that the welfare of all people was assisted by the existence of the Committee. This was very

[685] Huddersfield Improvement Act 1848: Minutes of Nuisance Committee, 16 November, 1848, H. A.
[686] Ibid., 29 December, 1848.

necessary for some people like Terrance Kelly and Mick Flannaghan whose homes were described as 'utterly unfit to be inhabited by human beings. They are close, ill-ventilated, and damp. They have no opening in the windows.'[687] They were not alone, in Dock Street when their cellars were inspected it was found that they didn't have adequate openings or were not drained well enough. 'The whole of these are miserable holes for human beings to inhabit.'[688] It is obvious why such conditions could not be allowed to continue and why notices were given prohibiting the letting of cellars in Windsor Court. Similarly in Dock Street, people were advised that it was a violation of the law to use cellars as separate residences and if they did, they would incur penalties.[689]

Photo 4: Castlegate in 1910 [690] (Home to 82 Irish people, according to the 1851 census)

[687] Huddersfield Improvement Act 1848: Minutes of Nuisance Committee, 29 December, 1848.
[688] Ibid.
[689] Ibid.
[690] www.kirkleesimages.org.uk

<u>Photo 5</u>: Dock St in 1910 [691] (Home to 20 Irish people in the 1851 census)

Throughout the Nuisance Minutes, there seems to be references to poor conditions in areas where the Irish lived. In Post Office Yard and Quay Street, there was a request for troughs, in Castlegate defective drains were to be rectified and the privies in Jarrat's Yard's were deemed to have been poorly built. In response to this, notices were served to the owners advising them to resolve the situation. Elsewhere, in Boulder's Yard, an uncovered ash pit was mentioned and Thomas Kilner of Carr House was ordered to alter his privy for his five tenants in Boulder's Yard; two of whom had Irish names, Mary Fineann and Mary Flannaghan.[692] Mary Flannaghan was indeed Irish. Despite here name being spelt differently in the census returns ; it confirmed that she was 40 years old woman and had a three year old son called Pat who was born locally.[693] There is no mention of her occupation or of Mary Fineann but in the intermittent period from March, 1849 to 1851, when the census was taken, she could have moved. The conditions of Princess Street were described as 'impassable and filthy.'[694] Additionally, there were concerns regarding the proximity of classrooms to cesspools in national schools since fumes could be inhaled. Understandably, schools were

[691] Minutes of Nuisance Committee, 29 December 1848.
[692] Ibid., 14 March, 1849.
[693] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre North – Boulder's Yard, HO 107/2295, RO 269/11/77.
[694] Minutes of Nuisance Committee, 18 April, 1849.

advised they needed to remedy the situation.[695]All of these instances indicate that it was indeed necessary to take whatever procedures to improve the quality of the areas.

All the same, some improvements were made much later. In 1869, the Huddersfield Water Act asserted that the corporation didn't have to provide water to anyone who was not observing their rules and when deemed necessary provided that written notification had been sent; they could enter or repair water closets and subsequently redeem the costs from the owners of the buildings. [696] It is hence clear that essential safeguards were taken by officials, but for many of the Huddersfield population including the Irish migrants it was too late. The unsanitary conditions had already done their damage and many subsequently died as a result.[697]

Is there any other evidence available on what life was like in Huddersfield in the 1850s? The *Lodging House Committee* minutes report on the 22 November 1852 that conditions were worse in lodging houses compared to three years before. This appears ironic considering the purpose of the Committee was to monitor how the lodging houses were run. In addition, it is alleged that many vagrants were driven into places where there were no restrictions.[698] In response to the problems, the Committee decided to raise its profile by establishing its own Model lodging house so that there was a visible example of how they should actually be run.

Later, at a subsequent meeting of the *Lodging House Committee,* on 31 October, 1853, it was advised that there were lodging houses kept by John Flinn of Castlegate, Michael Rourke, Edward Flannagan, Ann Fallon or Moran and Patrick Kearney who all lived in Windsor Court, Town-Centre, South-East. It was recounted that they all 'use dwellings

[695] Minutes of Nuisance Committee, 1 August, 1849.
[696] Huddersfield Corporation Water Undertaking Regulations with respect to the supply of water (Huddersfield, Advertiser Press Ltd, Page St & Queen Street South, 1936).
[697] There are no Ranger Reports for Huddersfield; therefore it is hard to say exactly what water conditions were like in Huddersfield.
[698] Minutes of Hackney Coach, 22 November, 1852, H. A.

consisting of but two small rooms; and that in each case the keeper had a large family of his or her own, and in two of the cases, a second family residing in the same house.'[699] The census returns confirm that Ann Moran was a 50 year old Irish lodger who lived in Windsor Court.[700] On the same street, Edward Flanaghan (spelt slightly different in the census returns) and Michael Rourke lived with their large families. Edward, a 48 year old Mason's Labourer was married to a local girl and had seven children.[701] Michael Rourke was a 40 year-old Irish labourer. He was married to a fellow Irish person and lived with his six children and brother.[702] From both these examples, it is visible that the assertions of the Committee were correct, when they were deemed unfit to be used as lodging houses and that their families were indeed large. The said people were subsequently advised that notices of penalties would be served if they continued to operate as lodging houses.[703] It is hard to conceive how such small dwellings could act as lodging houses when they were already crammed solid.

On 24 December, 1853, the Minutes of *The Lodging House Committee* reported that four lodging houses had been inspected and their request to operate as lodging houses was denied.The houses belonged to Stephen Kelly, Teddy Bride and Michael Flanaghan in Windsor Court and Mary Brown in Rosemary Lane. The census returns confirm that there was a Timothy Bride living in Windsor Court who may or may not have been Teddy. Timothy lived with his wife Caroline and a lodger Honoria who was 60 years old like himself.[704] By combining the information from both the minutes of *The Lodging House Committee* and the Census Returns, it allows a detailed description of the families to be developed. There is further evidence of problems with lodging houses in Kirkgate, Peel's

[699] Minutes of Hackney Coach, 31 October, 1853.
[700] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre South-East, Windsor Court, HO 107/2295, RO 93/4/120.
[701] Ibid.
[702] Ibid., RO 94/4/123.
[703] Minutes of Hackney Coach, 31 October, 1853, H. A.
[704] Census Returns; Town Centre South – East, Windsor Court.

Yard, Chadwick Fold, Boulder's Yard and Castlegate. The unregistered lodging house keepers were subsequently cautioned and advised that they would be re-inspected at a later date to ensure they complied with the Common Lodging Houses Act.[705] At a subsequent meeting on 10 January, 1854, it was discovered that Mary Brown continued to keep lodgers in an unapproved lodging house so legal proceedings were to be taken against her.[706]

Photo 6: Boulder's Yard (Date unknown) [707] (40 Irish people lived here in 1851)

Fortunately, people like Mary were the exception for not everyone refused to comply with the orders of the Committee. 'The Police Inspector of Lodging Houses then reported that in the evening of the 29 April last they inspected the several dwellings in Windsor Court, which had been refused registration as common lodging houses; and that in each case they found the law complied with and that the keeper thereof had discontinued the reception of lodgers.'[708] Beyond a doubt, the Committee were hence heeded in these instances.

In contrast, it was noted on 15 December, 1854 that Thomas Conroy from Post Office Yard, John Flannaghan of Shore Head, Michael Burke from Kirkgate and Thomas Duffy of Dark Street were repeatedly cautioned for taking in lodgers in unregistered lodging houses, so

[705] Minutes of Hackney Coach Committee, 24 December, 1853, H. A.
[706] Ibid., 10 January, 1854.
[707] www.kirkleesimages.org.uk.
[708] Minutes of Hackney Coach, 1 May, 1854.

Mr Thomas the Inspector took proceedings against them before the magistrate.[709] They were all subsequently fined one shilling each and expenses. A further fine of fine shillings was imposed for every day they continued to violate the law, but after visiting them on the 8 January; it was found that they had stopped taking lodgers.[710] Either the fine or legal proceedings worked, but nonetheless the lodging houses ceased to operate. Interestingly, at the same meeting, John Flanaghan requested to be registered as a lodging house keeper proving that he wanted to continue being a lodging house keeper.[711]

There were further instances of Irish people keeping unregistered lodging house in the Minutes of the Lodging House Regulation Committee. Patrick Lynch and John Connolly of Boulder's Yard and possibly Patrick Finnan (the surname is hard to decipher) were all to be taken before the magistrates.[712] At a subsequent meeting of the Committee, another woman, Mary Riley of Outcote Bank was accused of keeping an unregistered lodging house. Sergeant Townend the then Inspector of Lodging Houses said that her house 'was in a very filthy state.'[713] The reference by the Inspector to the lack of cleanliness in the house clearly conveys that it was indeed not suitable to be a lodging house. A month later, the Inspector again indicated that Mary and two other habitual offenders continued to keep lodgers in spite of several warnings by the authorities. It was decided that understandably more stringent punishments were needed. 'The Inspector of Lodging Houses reported that Michael Rattaghan, Mary Riley and Mary White still persisted in keeping lodgers even though proceedings had been taken against them before the magistrates – when it was resolved that commitments be taken out against the said parties.'[714]

[709] Minutes of Hackney Coach, 15 December, 1854.
[710] Ibid., 12 January, 1855.
[711] Ibid.
[712] Ibid.
[713] Ibid., 12 October, 1855.
[714] Ibid., 16 November, 1855.

Even still, Michael Rattaghan (he has been discussed in Chapter 3 as there was a reference to him in newspaper reports) seemed to ignore the warnings and his prison sentence in 1855 for failing to pay a fine didn't teach him a lesson. On the 12 May, 1858, he was again summoned for taking in lodgers. Evidently, he didn't comply with the law and necessary measures were taking by the Committee to punish him for his failure to obey their orders. Patrick Rattagan, a possible relative, was fined on 11 June, 1858 for the same offence and fined £1 and costs. Such a large sum would have been hard to find when wages were so small at that time. Undoubtedly, the authorities were trying to display that unregistered lodging houses would not be tolerated and were making an example of what would occur to people who chose to ignore the requirement that Lodging Houses were in fact registered.

In July, 1856, the Inspector recorded that there were more unsuitable houses requesting to be registered as Lodging Houses. On this occasion, one of them belonged to Abigail Miller, most probably English, providing additional evidence that English people were Lodging House keepers, but that they too lived in unhealthy conditions. 'The Inspector reported that the following parties were keeping unregistered Lodging Houses and that several houses were in a very filthy and unhealthy sate viz Bridget Galvin, Swallow Street, Abigail Miller, Jowett Court and Mary Mahon, Castlegate.'[715] Proceedings were to be taken before the Magistrates for breaching the Lodging House Act. A month later the minutes confirmed that the latter was fined 5 shillings and costs, the former 1 shilling and costs.[716]

[715] Minutes of Hackney Coach, 18 July, 1856.
[716] Ibid., 15 August, 1856.

Photo 7: Atkinson's Yard Swallow's Yard – 1910 [717] (Again clear buildings were two storey high)

Besides the references made to people keeping unregistered Lodging Houses and the applications to register their houses; from 14 March 1856 it was regularly recorded how many people stayed in registered Lodging Houses over a month. The numbers varied from 1,737 in March, 1856 to as many as 2,234 in May, 1857.[718] From 13 May, 1859 the figures were given for the same period the previous year. In this instant, the numbers had increased by 664 from May 1858 to May 1859. Obviously, such an increase confirms that the town was much more popular a year later. In October, 1859, it was reported that the numbers had fallen by 146 in that period. Although, the nationality of the lodgers is not given, it is evident that Huddersfield was popular for workers and that Lodging Houses were indeed a popular choice for Irish people too in view of the number of Irish surnames. The Minutes also confirm that a large number of people kept unregistered Lodging Houses which further proves that they were the type of accommodation used by the population at that time.

In addition to the various minutes of the time, there is some modern pictorial evidence of yards that existed at that time. Brook's Yard in Huddersfield Town centre South-West is a

[717] www.kirkleesimages.org.uk.
[718] Minutes of Hackney Coach, 14 March, 1856 and 15 May, 1857.

cobbled street with some three storey houses (see Photos 8 - 10). [719] This suggests that they built upwards therefore utilising the space above rather than that underneath. In this instance, there does not seem to be many cellars evident, contradicting Nolan's claims that cellars were used. However, it has already been proven that other evidence remains substantiating Nolan's view that cellars were indeed used as accommodation.

<u>Photo 8:</u> Sign for Brook's Yard [720]

<u>Photo 9:</u> Grille covers cellar entrance [721]

<u>Photo 10:</u> Close up of cellar entrance[722]

[719] <u>Note</u>: All Photos taken by R. A. Best, August, 2007.
[720] Ibid.
[721] Ibid.
[722] Ibid.

Obviously, a realistic picture of life when the Irish lived in these streets cannot be established based on these modern-day photos. Nonetheless, one can see that access to White Lion Yard, (see Photo 11) was between two shops. The façade of the shops meant the accommodation behind could not be seen. There would have been no street lighting in the yards thus making them very perilous for the occupants however the Improvement Act of 1848 was an attempt to overcome this problem. The landlords would when permitted not bother with spending capital on illuminating the area. Instead, their main focus would have been on making money. Evidently, this lust for money happened in Ireland too. 'You had a landlord who was interested in making money and poor people who needed accommodation'.[723] Undoubtedly, therefore money was their sole goal.

<u>Photo 11</u>: Entrance to White Lion Yard [724]

[723] Interview with C. E. Moriarty, August, 2007.
[724] Photo taken by R. A. Best, August, 2007.

In the main, the houses and cellars of Huddersfield were owned by English people. Within the Poor Rate records, the majority of the owners of Castlegate, Dock Street, Watergate and Jowitt Yard were English. There were odd references to Irish owners too. For instance Thomas Connolly owned 97 Castlegate and rented his property to a probable Irish man, James Conlon.[725] There was also a Martha Riley who owned four properties in a street called Back Green. She rented her property to two people with English names, Joseph Henton and Robert Birley. The other two were rented to possible relatives; Joseph Riley and Allen Riley. The ground rent was £7 per annum for two of the homes and £5 for the other two. If indeed Joseph and Allen were relatives no preferential treatment was shown to both of them for their rent since it was the two Josephs who paid the lesser amount. These references to ground rent appear to be the only records of money and give an indication of what would have been the normal rents charged at that time. Some of the landlords, however, were ruthless and charged an amount far greater than the ground rent. John Rhodes owned a 'cellar cottage' in Shorehead, where the ground rent was only £2, yet the tenant was charged the amount of £3 2 shillings and 6d.[726]

The owners of the properties may well have been English but the evidence suggests that the lodging house keepers were both Irish and English. Some of the Irish who ran lodging houses (as described in Chapter 3) squeezed as many people as possible into a house. The minutes of the Lodging House Regulation committee confirm that John Flanaghan of Shorehead was to be referred to the magistrates for taking in more lodgers than he was allowed.[727] At a following meeting it was noted that he paid a fine of 2 shillings and 6d,

[725] Huddersfield Poor Rate 1847 – Rates Township, Relief of the Poor of the Township of Huddersfield in the Borough of Huddersfield and West Riding of the County of York, Huddersfield – Daily Chronicle Steam Printing Works, Lord Street, MDCCCLXXV.
[726] Ibid., MDCCCLXXVI.
[727] Minutes of Hackney Coach, 9 March, 1855.

which must have been imposed as a result.[728] Therefore, it is thus clear; the Irish like the aforementioned landlords were similarly driven by a lust for money rather than a concern for the comfort and safety of the tenants. Thus, any improvements imposed after the Improvement Act would have been greatly received by the tenants of Huddersfield.

A partial insight has been gained into what life was like for the Irish in Huddersfield but where abouts in the township did they live? The Irish reputedly, lived in Castlegate, Windsor Court, Post Office Yard, Boulder's Yard & O'Connor's Yard off Swallow Street. The census returns of 1851 do indeed corroborate that these streets were popular with the Irish. This is substantiated by Ann McCluskey who argues that these areas were noted for their overcrowding and links with disease. 'During 1847, 221 cases of fever were recorded in overcrowded lodging houses, mostly kept by Irish people.'[729] One can conclude from the evidence that conditions were harsh and no special favouritism was shown by Irish landlords to their fellow countrymen. E. A. Hilary Haigh substantiates this claim. 'New arrivals frequently found temporary shelter in Irish-run lodging houses, as in Makin's Yard, off Water Gate, where a family of four, all Irish, ran a lodging house in which sixteen lodgers, also all Irish-born were enumerated.'[730]

Both McCluskey and Haigh mention areas where they believed the Irish were focused. Is this the case; did the Irish live in those areas or not? Do the census returns confirm this? One can evidently see from the following table that the Irish were found in the previously mentioned streets. Castlegate appears to have been divided between two areas, Town Centre North and Town Centre South-East. Swallow Street was the most populated

[728] Minutes of Hackney Coach, 13 April, 1855.
[729] Anne McCluskey, 'A challenge to explanations of women's Emigration: Irish women in Huddersfield' (Huddersfield, University of Huddersfield, 1993), p. 10.
[730] E. A. Hilary Haigh, *Huddersfield: A Most Handsome Town* (Huddersfield, Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), p. 429.

area by the Irish in this sample; however invariably in most of the streets it was not specified whether the people were lodgers or not.

Photo 12: Watergate – 1910 [731]

Table 6.4: Evidence of Irish living in Boulder's Yard, Castlegate, Makin's Yard, O'Connor's Yard, Post Office Yard and Swallow Street.[732]

Name of Area	Street Name	No. of Irish people	No. visitors	No. of lodgers
Town Centre South-East	Castlegate	50	1	32
Town Centre North	Castlegate	32	4	14
Town Centre South-East	Makin's Yard	20	0	16
Greenhead, Springfield & Highfield	O'Connor's Yard	16	0	16
Greenhead, Springfield & Highfield	Swallow Street	96	4	21
Town Centre North	Boulder's Yard	39	18	11
Town Centre North	Post Office Yard	101	29	30

[731] www.kirkleesimages.org.uk
[732] Census Enumerator Returns of Huddersfield, 1851, HO 107/ 2295, Folios 1 – 310.

Evidently, the census enumerator didn't classify all the occupants but if one is to accept that the Irish were poor, one would conclude that all of the residents would have been lodgers since very few of them would have the means to afford property. Instead, lack of money forced them to live in cramped housing and meant they were either lodgers or visitors. A similar situation would have happened in towns or cities in Ireland.Additional information gleaned is that the Irish lived in poverty in yards and courts off Castlegate, came to Huddersfield in the 1820s 'and particularly in the wake of the great famine of the mid-1840s.'[733] 'In 1851 there were 1,688 persons born in Ireland which was 5 per cent of the population. They lived in Windsor Court, Post Office Yard, Boulder's Yard, Upperhead Row, part of Swallow Street.[734] It has already been established that the census returns confirm the Irish lived close to the town centre and there were 1318 Irish-born people living in Huddersfield town centre. E. A. Haigh's figures are slightly greater as she used the census returns for all townships that are not necessarily within the immediate vicinity of Huddersfield. It was common place for people to live within easy access of their work. Then, the non-existence of public transport meant that you had to walk to work. The hours were long and arduous and the only really advantage was that you did not have far to travel.

There is further evidence of what life was like in Huddersfield in the census returns. In 1851, of the 23 households in Windsor Court, 16 contained Irish people. Closer examination reveals that 101 of the people were born in Ireland, 37 of the children were of Irish descent and eight people were non-Irish. This would mean that on average there were at least nine people in a house. The seven remaining houses contained non-Irish people.[735] From this, it is clear that Windsor Court was popular with the Irish and the living conditions bred diseases. It has already been said that overcrowding understandably led to diseases spreading.

[733] E. A. Hilary Haigh, *Huddersfield: A Most Handsome Town* (Huddersfield, Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992), p. 430.
[734] Ibid., p. 429.
[735] Ibid., p. 430.

Windsor Court was renowned for its smells and poorly built drains and lack of ventilation. Here again see is additional proof of the big contrast for Irish people to their former rural life in Ireland.

<u>Photos 13 - 14:</u> Chancery Lane, notice how narrow the street is.

<u>Photo 15 - 16:</u> Beast market 1900 and present day[736]

[736] www.kirkleesimages.org.uk

<u>Photos 17 - 18:</u> Cross Church St in 1885 and now[737]

Despite the fact that St. Patrick's was built to cater for the growing Catholic population in Huddersfield, it must be noted that in the main, the timing of the arrival of the Irish coincided with the Famine. This meant that many came to Huddersfield around the time that the *Improvement Act* was being implemented and enforced. Without a doubt, it would have taken time for the regulations of the act to be enforced but the establishment of the Lodging House Regulation Committee was proof that the authorities were serious about improving conditions in the town.

What else is known about that time? Treble observes, that land value in Leeds had increased by tenfold during the period from 1770 – 1820. He deduced that the 'immigrant Irishmen, a section of them accustomed to living in mud cabins in their native land, invariably gravitated towards the most insalubrious and dilapidated parts of the town.'[738] This too adds fuel to the argument that the Irish tended to live in accommodation similar to that they left at home and he maintains that there were only intermittent water supplies in Leeds and the Bank district where the Irish lived. The area 'contained whole streets which did not possess a single privy between them.'[739] As a result, it is easy to see how diseases spread so quickly in such an environment. The conditions of Leeds were not alone. Treble does add that

[737] www.kirkleesimages.org.uk
[738] McClelland, M.' Catholic Education in Victorian Hull', in *The Irish in Victorian Britain:The Local Dimension*, editors, Roger Swift & Sheridan Gilley (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999), p. 49.
[739] Ibid., p. 151.

Leeds, Manchester and Liverpool were all unhealthy places and the cellars that the people lived in were in a bad state. Interestingly, these three cities were the general destinations of the Irish emigrant around the time of the famine.

In contrast, as has been specified earlier, Huddersfield had only a small Irish community. In the census returns of Huddersfield, it is apparent that in some streets, certain Irish people did live close to one another. (see Table 6.5). For instance, in Jowitt Square in Town Centre South-West, there were 52 different Irish surnames recorded to be living in the street.[740] From this, it is clear that this street was fairly popular with the Irish.

Table 6.5: Types of Tenants found in Jowitt Square

Listings of residences with Irish people	Lodgers	Visitors
52	27	3

It must be highlighted that although, there were Irish, living in Huddersfield, (as seen in table 6.4); as previously outlined, they were too few in numbers to form a 'ghetto'. They did admittedly live within close proximity to one another but this alone does not constitute that 'ghettoisation' occurred. In Manchester Street, in the same area as Jowitt Square, one can again see proof that there were a number of Irish people living there. Interestingly, an unusual entry is that both Bridget Dugan and Bridget Nauen were recorded as Irish lodging housekeepers in the street.[741] Both were the 'Heads' of their households who provided for themselves by keeping lodging houses.

[740] Census Enumerator Returns, Huddersfield 1851; Town Centre South-West - Jowitt Square, HO 107/2295, Folios 311 – 471.
[741] Ibid., – Manchester Street, HO 107/2295, RO 438/17/133 (Duggan), RO 431/17/96 (Nauen).

Table 6.6: Types of tenants living in Manchester Street[742]

No. of residences with Irish listings	Lodgers	Visitors	No. of Irish born	No. of people of Irish descent	Non-Irish partners
41	22	2	55	21	4

Once again, here was a street with Irish people living together. Clearly, families continued to expand after they settled in England but not too much, since the average number of children was two. In addition, many single people lived there and in this street in particular, there were few visitors thereby suggesting that for the main part, people lived permanently in the town. The age range of the lodgers varied, but both families and single people were lodgers. In other areas of the town, similar patterns occurred. In Rosemary Lane, in Town Centre North, there were again many Irish people living there, proving that it was another popular place to live.

Table 6.7: Tenants in Rosemary Lane[743]

No. of residences with Irish listings	Lodgers	Visitors	No. of Irish born	No. of people of Irish descent	Non-Irish partners
15	11	0	25	7	0

In this street, the people do not appear to have been very cramped as on average there were two people in a house and there were no visitors. Most of the street's population was Irish born and there were no inter-marriages.

What happened elsewhere? M. A. G. O'Tuathaigh argues that by 1851, Irish living conditions were worse with 'appalling over-crowding, little or no sanitation, open sewers and

[742] Census Enumerator Returns, Huddersfield 1851; Town Centre South-West – Manchester Street, HO 107/2295, Folios 311 – 471.
[743] Ibid., Town Centre North -Rosemary Lane, HO 107/2295, Folios 151 – 310.

cesspools, unhealthy diet, inadequate clothing, vagrancy, disease.'[744] He does add that there was some improvement by the second half of the nineteenth century which would equate with the time of the Famine when the majority of the Irish arrived. Roger Swift also provides a valuable insight into the life of the Irish; their arrival coincided with an awareness of urban problems. The scale of the immigration as previously outlined was so enormous that the towns and cities of Britain could not cope. This is a crucial point, the destination towns and cities were not able to cope with the volume of Irish emigrants. The following statistics confirm this. 'In five months during 1847 some 300,000 pauper Irish landed in Liverpool alone, swamping a town with a native population of 250,000'.[745] Such a number of people understandably caused havoc considering there was an increase in demand for resources like housing and employment. From this, it is plain why there may have been ill-feeling towards the Irish as a result of such pressures although as already said, this was not an issue in Huddersfield. This was primarily because of the small numbers of Irish people living in the Huddersfield area; they made less of an impact. Obviously, Liverpool a port city was seriously affected by the wave of emigrants who landed there and understandably there was resentment amongst some because of the pressures that were caused by this huge influx of people.

It should be noted that not all Irish people lived in squalid accommodation in Britain. Alan O'Day explains that some were employed as domestics, which generally meant they worked in middle-class areas where they would have 'lived in'.[746] In Huddersfield, things were different; servants on the whole tended to 'live out' and must have travelled to work. However, there were occasional exceptions to this rule. In King Street, in Huddersfield

[744] M. A. G. O'Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century Britain – Problems of Integration, in *The Irish in the Victorian City* (London, Croom Helm, 1985), p. 16.
[745] Roger Swift, *The Irish in Britain: 1815 – 1914, Perspectives & Sources* (London, Historical Association, 1990), p.21.
[746] Alan O'Day, 'Varieties of anti-Irish behaviour in Britain 1846 – 1922' in *Racial Violence in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1996), p. 28.

Town Centre South-West, for instance, three servants lived together. In view of the fact that the servants' details were more specific (the occupants' exact place of birth was recorded), it is probable that a more educated person, maybe their employer who they presumably lived with, completed the census return on their behalf. It was noted that one of the girls, Margaret Berry, 14 was from Waterford, the second, Mary Handley, 20 from Castlereagh, and the last girl, Winifred Kelly, 16 was from Sligo and was bizarrely referred to as the only one who was unwed.[747]

Pubs often employed servants who 'lived in'; Corinthian Mackay was a General Servant, aged 19 from Ireland, who lived and worked in the Grey Horse Inn, Town Centre South-West.[748] Understandably, servants were required to work in the inn. It is therefore clear, that for some, their circumstances were slightly better, although just because they 'lived in', does not automatically mean they lived within 'luxury' accommodation. It would however, not have been as cramped as that of their peers who often were squashed together as they were unable to afford anything else.

Some of the enumerators in the census advise that lodgers and visitors were related to one another. They were listed as either a lodger's or a visitor's wife/daughter or son. This is useful as it is easy to see who was related to whom. This is far more accurate than presuming someone is related when they share the same surname. Such an assumption would be alright when there is an unusual surname, but with a common name, this is not always the case. Table 6.8 (see p.326) provide evidence that people in Post Office Yard, Town Centre North, were in fact related. However, what else can we learn from this table? Clearly, the population was young considering the oldest person was 40; therefore suggesting that young emigrants went to Huddersfield to find work. Some came with their wives and families; others like the Mees came with their siblings. As suggested in an earlier chapter, the wife's occupations

[747] Census Enumerator Returns of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre South-West – King Street, HO 107/2295.
[748] Ibid., Grey Horse Inn.

were not recorded,; some young people like John Conlan worked to help support their family and not all people over 14, (the school finishing age)'s details were recorded. For instance, it is not at all clear what William Golden or Winifred Keating did for a living.

In turn, it is not always possible to determine the surname of the visitors or lodgers staying at peoples' houses since they were either not recorded or were difficult to decipher. It was hard todetermine Jannik Kelly's exact Christian name. Likewise, the Conlans had a visitor staying with them whose surname is not specified. Michael Kelly too, had two lodgers staying with him who may or may not have been related to him. However, it is unlikely that there would have been two Michaels in a family so close in age. Likewise, Margaret Kelly may have been the sister of Thomas Kelly who happened to lodge with him is another possibility since her surname is not provided. Interestingly, the children Margaret and Mary are not classed as lodger's son or lodger's daughter but merely as daughter and son. Therefore, they must have been the children of Thomas and Bridget and the enumerator chose only to class their mother as the lodger's wife.

There were a number of Kellys living in the street that may or may not have been related who adopted the same occupation. This could arguably have been coincidental or on the other hand intentional. Although, it is not specified, it is probable that Mary-Ann was Francis Kelly's daughter; the age span makes such an assumption likely.

The high number of visitors in this street does suggest that they were not there temporarily. If they were temporary residents, there would be fewer of them. Instead, different people or even the enumerator themselves could have categorised recent arrivals as mere visitors when in fact this was not the case. The Murphy family are proof of this, their daughter Helen was only one year old and was born in Ireland; therefore, they could not have been in Huddersfield too long. It is unlikely in view of the cost of transport that people would have travelled to the town just to visit. There is however the chance that they lived elsewhere

in England and came to 'try out' Huddersfield to see what sort of opportunities were available should they decide to relocate there. Consequently, they may have chosen to stay with family or friends until they made their decision on what they intended to do.

In conclusion, the situation for lodgers does seem to be the same in all towns or cities. The Irish lived in confined spaces where diseases were rampant. The plight of the Huddersfield Irish does not appear to be any different even though there were fewer of them. Undoubtedly, it is argued that the Irish were very accepting of their predicament but as has been suggested several times, the ordinary English worker would have lived in similar circumstances. They too would have been affected by diseases. It was not only the Irish who suffered from cholera or typhus but yet the Irish were blamed for their occurrence. Diseases were contagious and it has already been proven that even the priests too were affected and the Irish tradition of the 'wake' aggravated the problem.

The Irish Catholics who arrived in England had little or no money. This put them at a disadvantage immediately. Some of them were ill, after escaping the famine, and others had contracted diseases on the 'coffin ships'. Their resistance as a consequence was poor and they were unable to fight off any diseases that were around. They were forced to take whatever accommodation they could due to a lack of funds which has already been described was in unhealthy and undesirable areas. 'Lack of effective quarantine restrictions in Liverpool meant that many of the Irish arrived incubating typhus and the Board of Governors had to make provisions to deal with epidemics, an expense which they resented.' [749] From this, it is evident why the Irish were resented.

It was the norm for single people to lodge with others as it was more financially viable. Families too sometimes lodged with friends or family to help pay the rent. Generally, the Irish lived close to the town centre and even looking at photographs of the alleys or yards

[749] Pauline E. Freeman, *Erin's Exiles – The Irish in Leeds, Catholicism in Leeds – a Community of Faith 1794 – 1994*, Edited by Robert E. Finnigan & George T. Bradley (Leeds Diocesan Archives, Leeds, 1984), p. 73.

that still remain today, it is clear that the situation and conditions were grim. Nowadays, the existence of sanitation, sewers and street cleaners means that a true representation is not given by looking at the photographs alone. Clearly, the absence or scarcity of such facilities in the nineteenth century bred the diseases common in Victorian England. The Irish who had fled the famine were survivors and wanted to ensure that they could provide for themselves and sometimes their families.

Roger Swift maintains that 'the Irish became an easy target and the *poor* Irish, who were the only *visible* Irish, became convenient scapegoats for environmental deterioration. Yet the plethora of urban social problems was clearly not the product of Irish immigration: these conditions had existed long before the Famine influx, which in practice served only to magnify and exacerbate them.'[750] It is thus apparent that there were a number of historians who defended the Irish. People like Swift, Hardy and Finnegan all maintain that the Irish were not to blame for the problems that occurred because of the cramped housing and squalor that occurred in towns and cities. Their arrival merely coincided with the industrial revolution and the volume of Irish people in towns and cities meant that they were easily targeted as the cause of such problems. Yet, this was not the case in Huddersfield.

Living in pitiable conditions was not merely associated with the Irish immigrant. English workers were also faced with poor conditions, since the growth of the town could not keep a pace with the development of mills and industrial Britain. In addition, the landlords of both Ireland and England were averse to spending money on their tenants. Their sole motivation was probably to earn money; but the authorities helped rectify this by creating various Acts, establishing different types of committees and appointing both a Health Inspector and Sanitary Inspector to help ensure that the people were properly assisted.

[750] Roger Swift, *The Irish in Britain: 1815 – 1914, Perspectives & Sources* (London, Historical Association, 1990), p.21.

A lack of hygiene at that time and the absence of adequate sanitation undoubtedly spread disease. Then, such diseases were commonplace and even in Ireland, there were fever hospitals established to cater and isolate the inflicted people. The following statements confirm that there was a fever hospital in Cork founded circa the 1850s, around the time of the famine, 'the fever hospital which was a separate hospital for anyone with fever illnesses. To show you how things improved that was there for about 100 years and that was closed in the late 1950s and the fever section was moved into the general hospital and the rates of isolation diseases were very low at that stage.'[751] From this, it is possible to deduce that it was necessary to have such institutions to deal with the widespread problem of disease.

The Irish were an easy target and the tendency for some of them to revert back to building 'mud-cabins', did not endear them to English people. It must be remembered that the 'Irish were faced with a very difficult, uphill struggle, therefore, to gain a job and a chance of a decent way of life. They shared their struggle with their English working class neighbours.'[752] Thus, the English worker like the Irish endured poor conditions. However, it is not possible to ascertain whether the Irish migrant was more inclined to accept their predicament than the English worker.

The Poor Rate records confirm that the Irish and English did not live in isolated 'ghettos' considering they lived close to one another. In Castlegate, a popular Irish area, Thomas Ibbetson owned six properties; Thomas Baildon one of his tenants lived in a 'cellar cottage' and another John Tindall rented a house and shop. The immediacy of Tindall's shop meant that there was a big possibility that the Irish shopped there. In the same street the following lived in lodgings owned by Thomas Kilner; Mary Slater, Henry Wood and John

[751] Interview with C. E. Moriarty, 29 August, 2007.
[752] Freeman, *Erin's Exiles*, p. 73.

Tierney. Finally William Moorhouse and Rose Atkinson (another apparent English person living in a 'cellar cottage') resided in premises owned by Joseph Walker.[753]

On balance, however, the evidence does confirm that the Irish were forced to occupy the poorest areas as already highlighted due to a lack of money. They got the blame for all the problems that occurred in an area, even though invariably it was not their fault. Their involvement in crime didn't endear them to others, and again their likeness for alcohol too didn't help. It has already been proven that the Irish of Huddersfield did engage in violence as a result of taking a drink but their crimes were generally petty, (see Chapter 3). Further to this, they were lodgers but the English worker would also have rented. From the photopgraphic evidence provided in Chapter 5, there was a huge gap between where they worshipped and lived. There is a possiblility that escaping the famine made some of the Irish more tolerant and accepting of their harsh living conditions but this was worsened by their financial predicament.

Often both the Irish and English lived in the same streets. Interestingly, an examination, of the Poor Rate records shows that there were cases when both nationalities were excused of paying their rent. The exact wording used was that the person was 'excused on account of poverty'. For instance in Windsor Court, Mary Beaumont, Edward Hanson and William Crossland were all excused and in Dock Street, Michael Flannaghan too was not required to pay the rent of £2 on his 'cellar cottage'.[754] Following on from this, one can only assume that there must have been some inspectors who determined whether exemptions could occur and as a result reimbursed the landlord for any financial loss they incurred.

Since English towns and cities were incapable of catering for the mass influx of people; migrants suffered. The authorities in towns and cities particularly seemed to resent

[753] Huddersfield Poor Rate 1847 – Rates Township, Relief of the Poor of the Township of Huddersfield in the Borough of Huddersfield and West Riding of the County of York, Huddersfield – Daily Chronicle Steam Printing Works, Lord Street, MDCCCLXXV.
[754] Ibid.

assisting the Irish, no allowances were made for when they first arrived. Yes, there were fewer Irish in Huddersfield, but even then, they too seem to have endured hardship in the town and no leniency was shown by their fellow countrymen that were landlords. Instead, they too squashed them into inhumane housing conditions that fuelled the spread of contagious diseases.

The authorities, it must be stressed, did try to improve the situation in Huddersfield. On the whole, the Irish arrived around the time that the recommendations of *The Improvement Act* and its various subsequent committees were being put in place. Undoubtedly it took time for these committees to be both established and recognised but key changes did occur. Nonetheless, by the turn of the century, judging by the images available from Kirklees Image Archives, there was a still a lot to be done to improve the quality of the areas. For many, these improvements came too late; others may have been offered salvation. Certainly, the poverty of the Irish and the harsh circumstances prior to their migration aggravated their predicament. There was reluctance, by the host community to welcome and assist them but there appears to have been much more tolerance in Huddersfield than in other towns. Nowadays such behaviour would not be tolerated, but in the nineteenth century this was accepted as the norm.

Close examination of the census returns reveals that Huddersfield was not one of the favoured destination points of the Irish. Indeed, there were too few Irish to form a ghetto. However, the small size of the town meant that the Irish did live within close vicinity of one another. The numbers of Irish may have been underestimated considering that some of the descendants may have categorised themselves as Irish even though they themselves were born in Britain.

In addition, there is evidence to support Nolan's statement that cellars were used as accommodation in both Leeds and Huddersfield. Sometimes, people chose to use the cellars

as lodging houses. Clearly, financial restraints meant that people could see no other alternative than to take in lodgers and the maps indicate how many Irish people did do so. The existence of The Lodging House Committee meant that not just anybody could be permitted to open a lodging house; there were restrictions. Instead, regulations had to be imposed for the welfare of the lodgers. Some people heeded the advice given, whilst others chose to ignore them and were subsequently prosecuted. The Irish were not for the most part reluctant to comply with the rules imposed but could see no other alternative means of supporting themselves and their families.

Like their English peers, the Irish rented accommodation. Some census enumerators referred to them as visitors when in truth in view of the distance and cost of travel, this was not the case. Similarly relationships between lodgers is not always clear within the census returns, but the migrants were undoubtedly poor and as a result accepted conditions that were forced upon them. On the other hand, there is no clear evidence that the Irish migrant was required to live in less favourable conditions than the local English working class person. In short, poverty forced them too to live in unsuitable accommodation in less desirable areas. Admittedly, the English person had one visible advantage; they were not forced to leave their homes for a strange land. Nonetheless, they too would have been at similar risk of catching diseases that occurred from living in a poor environment. Without a doubt, the appointment of both a Medical Officer and various committees was beneficial to both the English and Irish residents of Huddersfield. Even so, for many of the residents such reforms were too late.

In the 1850s, the Irish lived in very poor and overcrowded conditions in Huddersfield. However, they shared the common experience of the English working classes, in renting accommodation, living in overcrowded and insanitary conditions, and taking up temporary residence in lodging houses. Occasionally, they were seen as the cause of the poor condition but in reality they were the victims not the perpetrators.

CHAPTER 7

THE EDUCATION OF THE IRISH IN HUDDERSFIELD

'Newspaper cartoonists have taken up the theme depicting the Irish as bestial or sub-human, while anti-Irish jokes have spread the message that the Irish are stupid.'[755] Such a statement reflects how British society could portray the Irish in a very negative manner. It would seem that the Irish in Britain were often perceived as not being very bright but did this really apply in Huddersfield where the Irish appeared to have attracted little acrimony? There was indeed a drive by the Catholic Church to educate the Irish in Britain and as elsewhere, in Huddersfield, the clerics preferred the notion of educating their congregation separately in their own schools.Similarly, the Irish themselves appeared to want to learn and even before the school was formally established, sent their children to classes in the basics at the church on Sundays.

Henry Mayhew's observations of the inability of older Irish women in London, being able to read or write suggests that the women in question most probably did not have an education. In his mind, the situation was different for both the younger Irish and those born in Britain. In fact, he points out that their education was better than that of the wealthier English street kid. If this was indeed the case, then clearly the Irish were not 'stupid'. Mayhew explains that the improvements made meant that the younger Irish had the opportunity to better themselves. Asking what had changed; he continues 'this is owing to the establishment in late years of many Roman Catholic schools, at charges suited to the poor, or sometimes free, and of the Irish parents having availed themselves of such opportunities for the tuition of their daughters, which the English costers have neglected to do with equal chances.[756] Clearly, Mayhew believes that the Irish parents recognised there was a need to educate their

[755] Liz Curtis, *Nothing but the same old story: The Roots of Anti-Irish Racism* (Nottingham, Russell Press Ltd., 1984), p. 4.
[756] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London, Penguin B ooks, 1985), p. 148.

children to improve their employment prospects in Britain. W. J. Lowe shares this view and adds that 'Irish Catholics had great respect for learning.'[757] In response to this, Lowe suggests that during the 1850s, Catholic Schools in Liverpool were built close to where Catholics lived. He continues to explain that by 1858, there were not enough Catholic schools to cope with the demand, but nonetheless, the number of schools was on the increase. Why was there such a problem? During the 1840s and 50s, there was such a mass influx of Irish people that educational provision in the area was put under strain. However, by the 1860s, the situation had improved.[758]

It has already been explained that it was difficult for the Irish to secure well paid positions in Britain. This was not the only obstacle; some British people were indifferent to them. Liz Curtis was more forceful in her description of how the Irish were perceived to be inferior to the English and said that from the 1860s British racists likened the Irish and black people to apes.[759] Further to this, seemingly, in 1862, *Punch* attacked Irish immigration and the use of the term 'paddy wagon' indicates that the Irish had a strong connection with crime.[760] Nowadays, there would be outrage if such publications were permitted and there is a drive to avoid using any language that could be perceived to be racist. However, colloquially even today, an accepted term used when children are having a tantrum is that they are having a 'paddy'. It is not intentionally used as a racist attack but clearly when examined closed, it actually is.

Other cartoonists portrayed the Fenians as ape-like monsters and some of the Irish rebels were depicted as pigs. Liz Curtis maintains that pigs were chosen, 'because pigs played such a vital part in the Irish peasant economy, it was all too easy for comic artists to equate

[757] W. J. Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire 1846 – 71', p. 297.
[758] Ibid., p. 337.
[759] Liz Curtis, *Nothing but the same old story*, p.60.
[760] Ibid.

Irish rebels with the lean, even emaciated pigs of the countryside.'[761] Obviously, the fact that the pigs were emaciated is a reference to the effects of the famine. She also alleges; that it was during the 1840s that the use of comic drawings began and ironically coincided with the mass arrival of the Irish. The Irish person, or 'paddy' as they have already been referred to, was drawn as a chimp, orang-utan or gorilla. None of these representations are flattering but comparing the Irish to animals' again shows they were perceived not to be clever. Marion H. Spielmann disagrees; after careful study of the *Punch* publications she argues that despite having a reputation for being anti-Irish both during and after the 1850s, it did show sympathy to them when true 'genuine Irish sentiment and suffering,' occurred. [762]

In her mind, this compassion was shown by the fact that their cartoonists only flattered one Celt, Hibernia the female symbol of Ireland.[763] Christine Kinealy in, *A Death Dealing Famine, the Great hunger in Ireland* concurs. She gives details of an occasion when the *Punch* journalists were indeed considerate towards the Irish. During the famine, they had assisted famine victims by donating £50 to the Relief Committees established in 1847. She likewise was amazed at this generosity. Such behaviour was out of character; generally only disdain was shown to the Irish.[764] Perhaps, Spielman was aware of this incident and in turn decided that the *Punch* journalists were not always indifferent to the plight of the Irish. In truth, a flattering image of Hibernia alone demonstrates little empathy for the Irish person but Spielman sees it differently. L. Curtis Perry Jr., hypothesises that it was because the 'Anglo-centric historians … simply ignored or played down the presence of Hibernophobia in Victorian attitudes towards the Irish. They cling instead to the more academically acceptable

[761] Liz Curtis, *Apes & Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, (Revised Edition) (Washington & London, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), p. 31.
[762] Ibid.
[763] Ibid.
[764] Christine Kinealy, *A Death Dealing Famine, the Great hunger in Ireland* (London, Pluto, 1997), p. 112.

charge of anti-Catholicism.'[765] It was probably easier to ignore that racial behaviour was occurring and instead attribute this demeanour to religious bias. There was undoubtedly a 'stigma of primitive Paddy, who in the eyes of numerous Britons epitomized the lowest of the low'.[766] This perception didn't help the Irish immigrant.

Judging the Irish in such manners is plainly racist and accusations of not being very intelligent further emphasises the levels of intolerance shown by some towards the Irish. However, this didn't seem to occur in Huddersfield and the local newspaper, the *Huddersfield Examiner,* does not appear to have featured such images. Nonetheless, since *Punch* was a national publication, the townsfolk could still presumably have access to it if they so desired. Nevertheless, there does not seem to be any evidence that the people on the whole responded to the images if they did in fact see them.

The general contemporary consensus was that the Irish in Britain were backward.[767] This explains why *Punch* portrayed the Irish as pigs and apes. The Irish were seen as outcasts and their illiteracy and lack of employment skills combined with unflattering cartoons all heightened the distrust that existed towards them. The fact that many of them were Catholic meant that here again they were different and thus another motivator existed to be suspicious of. All of these factors combined with an interest by some in Irish politics aggravated the situation even further. It is no wonder, then that some Irish emigrants in Britain (but not visibly in Huddersfield), decided to form their own community where they were assured that such antagonism would not occur.

It has already been established that many of the Irish were illiterate and perceived to not being very bright. As has been suggested by Mayhew, improvements were made to

[765] Kinealy, *A Death Dealing Famine,* p. 115.
[766] Ibid.
[767] Roger Swift & Sheridan Gilley (eds.), *The Irish in Britain 1815 - 1914* (London, Historical Association, 1990), p. 31.

reduce the number of illiterate Irish people in London. Similarly, in Huddersfield, York, Leeds and Bradford, there was a drive to create schools. As elsewhere, this was in response to the realisation there was a need to educate children. Some of this was prompted by the priests who wanted to assist their congregation to better themselves. Fr. Stephen Wells of St. Patrick's, Huddersfield was 'noted for his efforts in raising the education of Catholic children', ….. 'was one of a band of clergy who took a lively interest in educational matters not only among Catholics but for the good of the wider population.'[768] Here again, is further proof the power the priest had over his congregation and the commitment that some priests had to improving the circumstances of their parishioners.

Despite the fact that it took thirty-two years for a proper school to be built at St. Patrick's, classes had been held at the church in reading, writing and arithmetic on Sunday afternoons. 'Classes before then had been held in a room underneath the church.'[769] The school was eventually opened on 4 January 1864 (there is no documentary evidence even amongst the diocesan archives of how this came about). Lowe explains that Sunday Schools were appealing to the working class as they were both cheap to run and more importantly, allowed people to continue to work during the week. In his mind, one of their downfalls was the fact that the teachers were only just ahead of their pupils.[770] Even so, the existence of these schools clearly shows that the parish was striving to better its population. This is confirmed in the following extract from the church's records; 'from the beginning of the parish' history, great importance was attached to the provision of education.'[771] Initially, the school was for boys only but by August 1869, a mere five years, it became mixed.

[768] Stephen Habron, *175 years of St. Patrick's Church, 1832 – 2007* (Leeds, Essay Printing Limited, 2007), p. 16.
[769] Ibid.
[770] W. J. Lowe, 'The Irish in Lancashire 1846', p. 290.
[771] Brief Notes compiled in 1982 to show the vigour & diversity of the parish, held at St. Patrick's Church, Huddersfield. (Note – no author as church document), p. 3.

Education in Huddersfield appears to have been in line with the rest of Britain, there seems to have been little provision until the Education Act changed the situation. The Catholic Church recognised the importance of children receiving an education and from the 1830s there was a drive by English Catholics to provide an education for their children. From the 1780s, children had been given a little opportunity to learn one day a week but this was deemed to be insufficient and there was a desire to extend the provision. In addition, there were Dame Schools in the first half of the nineteenth century, run by elderly women for a small sum of money. Lowe was dubious about the education received in such establishments and deemed them merely to be a babysitting service since little was learnt there. Until 1871, schools were privately owned or run by religious denominations. Initially the funding for such schools relied on the donations of parishioners but the Education Act of 1870 ensured that the Catholic schools too received state funding.

There are few records available on the state of education in Huddersfield. Amongst, the Diocesan Records, there is however a letter that confirms that the Catholics in the town were committed to education. .[772] It was addressed to parliament and requested that the Catholic townsfolk received compensation for the losses incurred in Britain's war with France. It continued that even though the French government had paid compensation in the region of £300,000 in lieu of damages to the Catholic colleges, this money had never been repaid to the Catholic people. It urged that this money be paid so that it could be used to finance Catholic education. It carried on and reminded the government that Catholics had endured losses during the Reformation which in addition to the restrictions placed on them by the Penal Laws meant that they were unable to provide for education themselves. It implored that Catholic property be restored so that justice would be done to the Catholic Body. Aside from this letter, the following provides further corroboration that education was held in high

[772] Typed letter to the Honourable Commons of great Britain and Ireland in parliament Assembled. (No date specified but contained within details of St. Patricks during the 1840 – 1850 period).

regard but also interestingly displays the hope that the divide between the Irish and people would be lessened. 'From the beginning of the Catholic Revival in the 19th century the church, …, recognised the vital importance of educating all its children. But it was mindful too of the need to produce not only a well-educated clergy but also a professional class which would give the church respectability and therefore influence; such a development would also help to break down the 'seperateness' of the Irish-dominated Catholics from their English fellows.'[773]

There are no exact figures on the numbers of children attending St. Patrick's weekly education sessions at the church. There was, however, a request from Thomas Griffiths dated 28 April, 1847 seeking information from the priest on the number of children both requiring and receiving daily education in the parish. In response to this request, the diocesan archives highlight that there were 450 children in the parish of Huddersfield in 1847 and that there had been 94 baptisms. It stated that there were 3,813 people receiving education in the diocese and that 3046 were destitute of education making a grand total of 6,859 people.[774]

To facilitate compiling the information that Griffiths required, he suggested a method he had used in London that would make it easier to calculate how many children were in need of education. The whole number of baptisms were to be multiplied by four as it was found that this was the average age that children began school and from this sum, one-quarter should be deducted to allow for those who died before they started school. He required the results by the end of the week in preparation for a meeting Lord John Russell was having with the Committee of Council on Education.[775] Obviously, such calculations were not an

[773] Adrian Smith, *A Brief History of the Huddersfield Catholic Deanery since 1800* (Huddersfield, All Saint's High School, 1996), p. 66.
[774] Letter to the Bishop 7 May, 1847 – (L. D. A.)
[775] Returns of Educated & uneducated children in District of York 1847 – Thomas Griffiths, Golden Square, 28 April, 1847 – L. D. A. for St. Patrick's Huddersfield.

accurate tool of calculating how many students were in need of education but it does convey that there were discussions by parliament on what was exactly required.

Interestingly, as already mentioned there is a lack of information on education in Huddersfield yet Frances Finnegan can provides an interesting insight on education in York. Before the Famine, it did have a school but the numbers were small. However, from the 1850s, coinciding with the mass influx of Irish the situation changed dramatically. In 1851, there were 294 Irish schoolchildren but 20 years later; this number had augmented to 695.[776] Many of the children were poor attendees because of family responsibilities such as taking care of younger siblings or working in the fields with their parents. Other reasons for non-attendance, was poor health and lack of clothing. Finnegan hints that the Irish encountered prejudice for their poverty and observes that despite staying in their own neighbourhoods and attending their own schools, it still occurred. 'As fees were charged in one of the schools in York, there was a stigma attached to going to St. George's in Walmgate where the Irish lived.'[777] Here again is further proof of the animosity displayed by some British people towards the Irish.

In Bradford, too there is evidence of the provision of a Catholic education. A school was established by the Sisters of Charity of St. Paul in the parish of St. Mary's, in 1859, which had 170 girls and infants who were squashed together in one room.[778] Having to resort to such drastic measures proves how committed people were to both providing and receiving an education. Within a few years, it was clear that more assistance was needed due to the huge demand for education and another church, St. Patrick's was established. Initially, St. Patrick's didn't even have its own presbytery, nor did it have a convent or school but

[776] Frances Finnegan, *Poverty & Prejudice: A Study of Irish Immigrants in York 1840 – 1875* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1982), p.122.
[777] Ibid., p. 125.
[778] P. Grogan, St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Bradford: A History of the Parish (Sussex, Service Publications Ltd, 1975), p. 7.

eventually all followed. Prior to the building of the school, the nuns from St. Mary's came to teach the children on Sundays. It was Fr. Lynch (a firm supporter of education) of St. Mary's who laid the foundations for Catholic Education. 'He was not slow in realising that unless he could secure for the children a sound Catholic education, all his labours in the church would be in vain.'[779] He was supported in his efforts; two dame schools opened in Silsbridge Lane and White Abbey. Initially he opened a school in a room over John Akam & Sons' Shop, Westgate and Drewton Street; which later moved to a larger room again over a shop in Cheapside and provided by Messrs. Fattorini & Sons. Eventually their school was opened in Paradise Street.

Akin to what happened in terms of inter-marriages, the records of St. Patrick's in Bradford, again suggest the priests were very authoritarian towards their their parishioners. Immediately after the nuns opened their school in September, 1859, people were ordered from the pulpit that their children could no longer attend any other school not even their previous school, St. Mary's. Further to this, the priests threatened people who sent children to Protestant schools that they wouldn't give them the sacraments.[780] The existence of these orders conveys how powerful the church indeed was. It was clearly classed as unacceptable for children to attend Protestant schools.

Fielding reiterates the beliefs of the Catholic clergy that Catholic children should only attend Catholic schools.[781] Further to this, children needed to be educated as Catholics and in particular children from mixed marriages. 'One of the most important tasks with which a priest was burdened was to ensure that each child born to a Catholic was at least christened

[779] John Earnshaw, *Records and Reminiscences of St. Patrick's Church, Bradford 1853 – 1903* (Bradford, Cornthwaite and Raistrick, 1903), p. 32.
[780] Ibid., p. 45.
[781] Steven Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England 1880 – 1939* (Buckingham, Open University Press, 1993), p. 62.

and educated in a Church school. This was vital in the case of mixed marriages, where Catholic offspring were in particular danger of being lost to the Faith.'[782]

In Leeds, there was evidence of a different problem, Catholic children were forced to attend Protestant schools and threatened with the sack if they didn't learn their bible from the Church of England's point of view. 'Twenty-seven children employed at Hives and Atkinsons, until the opening of the National School (the Anglican School) they had attended the Methodist School, where no particular religious doctrine was taught. At the National School they were compelled to learn the Catechism of the Church of England or be punished for neglect. They were also threatened with dismissal from their employment. Other children at the school were ordered to call them papists.'[783] Clearly, such incidents motivated the Church to encourage their children to attend their own schools to prevent a repeat of this.

According to W. C. Darnell in his study of education in Huddersfield, one in four children attended private schools in the town in 1851.[784] There were also Dame schools where few records were kept. A notable development in education however, was that from 1850, children under the age of 18 could not work between 6am and 6pm. This according to Darnell was important as it meant that children could instead attend school. St. Patrick's school in addition to providing traditional teaching in the day; offered evening classes that both genders attended.[785] The willingness of pupils to attend at night adds substance to the earlier suggestion that people were motivated to learn in their own time.

[782] Fielding, *Class and Ethnicity*, p. 46.
[783] Helen and David Kennally, 'From Roscrea to Leeds: An Emigrant Community', *Tipperary Historical Journal,* (Tipperary, 1992), p.123.
[784] W. C. Darnell, 'A History of Elementary Education in Huddersfield from 1780 – 1902' (unpublished Master Degree in Education, May 1951), p. 135.
[785] Smith, *A Brief History of the Huddersfield*, p. 16.

An interesting letter amongst the Diocesan Archives reveals that in 1854, John Prest requested that a large educational fund was established.[786] This correspondence is relevant as Huddersfield was under the bishop's authority and any decision he made for the diocese would apply there too. Prest urged that 'a correct census of the Catholics of England and Wales needed to be done'.[787] From this, it visibly he had little faith in the Religious Census of 1851, completed only three years before. In his mind, this would permit both useful information be gathered and collections to be made for the Poor School Committee.

Attached to the letter was a typed edition of Education of Catholic Poor. Honourable Charles Langdale was thanked for his efforts and suggestions were given on how the sum of £100,000 could be raised. Catholic bodies were criticised for not doing enough and it advised that less than a fifth of the 588 churches and chapels hadn't contributed to the Poor School Committee. It admitted that some had only managed to make a small contribution but this was deemed better than nothing. Further to this, poor people were praised for their efforts; 'the poor themselves will materially assist this good work, by uniting their efforts with those of the middle classes; for after all, the moral basis of society rests on the poor.'[788] It continued to explain that the working class people believed that only a certain amount of education was of practical use to them. 'It is to be lamented that the working classes have been generally tutored not to look beyond their station, and consider education not to be worth the time and money needed for its requirements.'[789] This viewpoint contradicts the efforts made by the Irish people and priests to educate their children in Britain. Admittedly, there were some as highlighted by Finnegan who were poor attendees in York, but this was not universal for all Irish people. The documentation continues to stress that the poor were

[786] Letter from John Prest to the bishop the Right Honourable Dr. Briggs, L. D. A.
[787] Ibid.
[788] Ibid., to the Honourable Charles Langdale, 1 July 1854 – L. D. A.
[789] Ibid.

instrumental in assisting Protestants to convert to Catholicism if educated. It was deemed necessary that an Educational Fund Committee consisting of both laity and clergy were established in each diocese. Each town would have a committed local committee to determine how many Catholics were under the age of fifteen and collect a donation from them. Feedback in his mind should be given on what the committees had achieved.

Following on from this, interestingly, three years later at a meeting of the Catholic Bishops of England in April, 1857, it was highlighted that Catholic Schools were benefitting from the link with the Government and Poor School Committees. This suggests that although there may have been antagonism towards the Irish, the government didn't discriminate against their right to receive an education because of their faith. The letter confirmed that both building grants and other aids received by poor schools from the government were safe. At the conference, it was decided that an ecclesiastical inspector (whose testimonials would be checked) should visit all schools in the diocese. The bishops were unsympathetic of the plight of the Irish people and stressed that they were not exempt from attending mass on Sundays because they were poorly dressed or dreaded being taunted by Protestants. It was suggested that instead they attended earlier masses. The bishops concluded that they were going to write a letter recognising the efforts of the Poor School Committees.[790] Such attitude from the clergy conveys there being little sympathy for thecongregation but all the same, progress had been made in education and the situation had greatly improved compared to when the Irish first starting arriving during the the Famine.

Frank Neal agrees with Mayhew's earlier suggestion that the Irish lacked an education. Even before Famine, 'the Irish immigrants into Britain were predominantly poor,

[790] Meeting with Bishops of England – 21, 22 and 23 April, 1857.

unskilled and uneducated.'[791] In turn, this forced the Irish to take lowly paid jobs. He provides an unusual interpretation of how the Irish were regarded in Glasgow. He explains that because they were needed as a workforce and 'in addition to the view of their indispensable contribution, it was also believed that the Irish were hardworking, intelligent and desirable labour force.'[792] Neal continues that there was plenty of opinion that the Irish were intelligent and resourceful. The reference to the Irish being 'intelligent' noticeably contradicts the earlier suggestion that the Irish were 'stupid'. Indeed, if Mayhew is to be believed, it was not the fault of the Irish that they were illiterate but instead was because they didn't have access to an education.

The Irish were not alone in this problem. According to Ginswick, in 1846 in Huddersfield, 939 couples were married. 378 men and 696 women signed the register with their marks only.[793] This information thereby suggests that there was a problem with illiteracy. The fact that more women than men were recorded as illiterate would be in line with the times where it was deemed not as necessary for women to receive an education. David Fitzpatrick disagrees with that assumption, he argues that more men were illiterate than women and as a result, there was a demand for the more literate Irish female servant. Clearly, Ginswick's findings do not concur with this theory and if indeed Fitzpatrick was right, Ireland must have been progressive and viewed the education of women as necessary. Fitzpatrick continues that the emigrants were less likely to have writing skills than contemporaries at home.[794] There is no other evidence that can corroborate Ginswick's findings so therefore this information alone does not confirm that illiteracy was indeed a major problem in the town.

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[791] Frank Neal, 'Black '47: Liverpool and the Irish Famine', in *The Hungry Stream: Essays on Emigration & Famine,* Margaret Crawford (ed.) (Belfast, Nicholson & Bass Ltd, 1997), p. 123.
[792] Frank Neal, *Black '47: Britain and the Famine Irish* (Basingstoke, Macmillan Press, 1998), p. 38.
[793] J. Ginswick, *Labour and the poor in England and Wales 1849 – 1851* (London, Frank Cass, 1983), p. 154.
[794] David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration 1801 – 70',in *A New History of Ireland – Ireland under the Union 1801 – 70*, W. E. Vaughan (ed) (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 577.

In conclusion, the evidence provided by people like Neal and Mayhew corroborate that the Irish were not stupid. Admittedly, many of the emigrants when they arrived in Britain were illiterate but this would have been the case for the ordinary English person too if Ginswick is to be believed. Without a doubt, the Education Act of 1870 facilitated change. The Catholic Church was also busy establishing schools to educate their congregation. Generally, such establishments were driven by the realisation by the clergy that their parishioners would benefit from their existence. Some were very zealous that Catholics should only attend Catholic schools and in Bradford all sorts of threats were issued. In Leeds though, to ensure continued employment some Catholics were forced to send their children to non-Catholic schools.

There is little definite evidence on education in Huddersfield but diocesan records at times refer to matters of relevance for the whole diocese. However, in one instance a specific reference is made to the fact that some of the Catholics in Huddersfield were so desperate for denominational schools that they pleaded with the authorities for compensation for the loss of Catholic colleges in France. In their mind, losing these premises combined with the Penal Laws hindered Catholics from funding the financing of schools themselves. Initially, when the schools were established, the parishioners paid for them, but the Education Act provided assistance from 1870. Indeed in 1877, seven years later at a Bishops' meeting, it was acknowledged that Catholic education had certainly benefitted from the efforts of the Act. From the outset, there was a drive to educate the Catholics in Huddersfield considering that weekly lessons were held under the church before the school itself was built. This proves the commitment by the congregation to education and in spite of limited provision; an enormous effort was made to facilitate this. Obviously, a separate school building made things easier and although initially only for boys, it quickly became a mixed school confirming the dedication to educate both the males and females in the parish.

In the nineteenth century, the press presented the Irish in a negative manner and there were even some cartoons in *Punch* comparing them to animals like ‘pigs’ or ape like creatures.Similarly, they were ridiculed in jokes and Liz Curtis was critical that such representation was permitted, however then there were no such restrictions. Yet, such behaviour does not appear to have featured in the local paper the *Huddersfield Examiner*. However, considering that *Punch* was a national publication, it is possible that some of the locals may have had access to this information. Even so, there is no definite evidence that the Irish were discriminated upon by the local population. Why was this so? The Irish were too few in number to be much of a visible presence and in response to this little confrontation occurred between the two communities.

CONCLUSION:

The building of St. Patrick's Church in Huddersfield in 1832 was the dawn of a new era in the life of the town. It coincided with the arrival of the pre-Famine Irish community who made an impact in a number of areas, most significantly in the number of Catholics that lived there. Prior, to 1832, there had been only a small Catholic population in Huddersfield since the English Reformation and Penal Laws had contributed to almost the demise of the religion in the area. However, the mass influx of Irish people in the nineteenth century, particularly at the time of the Famine changed all that.

The expansion of Huddersfield's industry meant that workers were needed. Irish migrants, forced to leave their homeland in the quest for work, were welcomed. It was quickly realised that there was a need for a 'chapel to encourage the Irish workforce to stay.'[795] Fr. Singleton stressed that it was local industrialists who helped pay to build this chapel because they recognised that the faith of the Irish was important to them. There was evidence of Irish people throughout Yorkshire. In particular, the Famine accelerated the number of Irish that came to Britain. Yorkshire was chosen like many other places because of the work opportunities available and Frances Finnegan claims that York was popular with seasonal workers even before the Famine. Naturally when forced to leave Ireland they re-located to an area they were familiar with.

In response to the arrival of the Irish, churches in Huddersfield, Leeds and Bradford were called St. Patrick in homage of their patron saint. In time, others followed to coincide with the arrival of Irish people at later dates and their existence is a compliment to the Irish since their saint's name was used to name the churches.

[795] www.hud.ac.uk/hip/viccy/viccy.html. - The Irish in Huddersfield, p. 1.

In Britain, the general trend was that as soon as a Catholic church was built, a school almost directly followed. In their minds, it was important that children should receive a Catholic education. Sometimes, as in Huddersfield (where it took 32 years for the school to be built), the delay was caused to allow adequate funding to be raised as it was the parishioners themselves who contributed to the cost. The church alone would have been unable to finance such a venture without their assistance. The Irish appear to have been committed to their faith and willingly gave what they could ill-afford to the church. In spite of their faults, their poor behaviour and involvement in crime, often fuelled by drink, they were loyal to their Church.

Family was also important to them. Money was sent to Ireland to either assist with daily living or more often than not helped pay for their relatives to re-locate to Britain or the 'New World'. Britain was the cheaper option and its proximity meant that a move there was regarded as less permanent than a move to the 'New World'. In reality, they rarely returned home from either place. Poverty and cost of travel meant that few could afford to travel home but on initial outset would have been unaware of this.

Raphael Samuel outlines that Catholic Churches were deliberately built near the poor and this definitely was the case in Bradford, Leeds and Huddersfield. Locating close by meant that both the congregation and priests were within easy access of one another. Both Samuel and MacRaild argue that the priest was a key character in the lives of the Irish Catholics for both their spiritual needs and to calm down any physical disputes that occurred.

Historians are divided on how good the Irish Catholics were at attending mass. The Religious Census of March 1851 merely provided information on attendance for one day. It

outlined that on average 700 people attended mass at St. Patrick's Huddersfield.[796] These figures combined with an increased demand for the sacraments of both baptism and marriage suggest that people were committed to the Catholic Church. Further to this, more churches were built in the area to accommodate the expanding Catholic population

St. Patrick's baptism and marriage records confirm there was a significant swelling in the numbers of both in the late nineteenth century. In particular, the late 1850s and late 1860s witnessed a real spurt. Even though there is no mention of place of birth on the baptism records, the large number of Irish surnames proves that people were either Irish themselves or of Irish descent. However, marriage records are much more conclusive, as the address of the parents is recorded. This is useful when the parents still lived in Ireland as it was then easy to conclude where exactly the people came from. In addition to this information, odd references by the census enumerators pinpointing exactly where someone came from in Ireland suggest that people were from Connacht, in the west of Ireland. Insufficient evidence means that an overall conclusion can not be made; instead an assumption is made based on the information possessed. The census returns also permit route-ways of family to be detected when there were children. By looking at the place of birth of the children, some families visibly moved about before eventually settling in the town. People were most probably looking for work or else settled elsewhere until they could afford to move on.

Some English were both hostile and resentful of the Irish. Admittedly, the actions of some Irish did aggravate the situation but often their mere existence was enough to infuriate people. On top of this the existence of the Orange Order in certain key towns fuelled this distrust even more. However, this does not appear to be a problem in Huddersfield. Bradford was different; the true purpose for the land being acquired to build St. Patrick's had to be kept

[796] www.nationalarchives.gov.uk – Some notes on the 1851 Religious Census with a summary of the Roman Catholic Returns.

secret. It was common knowledge, what the reaction would be if the real intention was revealed. Further to this, before the church was built, like Huddersfield an attempt was made to use a local inn for services. Yet, in Bradford the landlady was threatened that she would lose her licence if she continued to allow it to be used. Clearly, Catholics were treated differently in the two towns. In short, in Bradford, there was much more hostility shown towards the Irish Catholics than those in Huddersfield. Though, not everyone agrees that the building of St. Patrick's in Huddersfield was welcomed. Information acquired from the Laity's Directory of 1831, suggests that several people objected to the site of the church.[797] If this was so, then not everyone was keen to receive the Irish.

It particularly annoyed the English when the Irish misbehaved and were duly arrested. When reporting on crimes in the *Huddersfield Examiner* it occasionally reveals offender's nationality, but in the main, it is assumed that people were Irish based on their surname. Obviously, this is not very accurate and it is possible that the Irish were law abiding but their descendants weren't. Punishments issued in the courts depended on the mood of the magistrates but the imposition of fines seems to have been the norm. Many Irish were forced to go to prison as they didn't have the necessary funds to pay their fine. The age of the criminal was immaterial to the magistrate when sentencing criminals. Children as young as ten were harshly punished. This may have been done to deter others from following the same route but in general punishments given seem much harsher than those of today.

The types of crimes committed were categorised as either minor or major. In Huddersfield, it was found that more major than minor crimes occurred. However, some of the major crimes were truly not that serious. In addition, prostitution was not a problem in the town but there were Irish people who didn't respect the police, a common Irish problem in Britain. It was not really a serious problem in Huddersfield unlike Birmingham where the

[797] www.hud.ac.uk/hip/viccy/viccy.html. - The Irish in Huddersfield, p. 2.

police lost control of the town. Poverty and alcohol were usually the motivators for why people became involved with crime. People's behaviour was altered when they were inebriated.

Often, the Irish endured hostility based on either religious or political differences. In particular, the fact that many migrants maintained an interest in their homeland's politics caused a rift between them and their fellow English citizens. This was especially the case in Bradford where unlike Huddersfield the Irish were distrusted. In particular, there was a fear that the Irish would try to replicate risings that were occurring in Ireland.[798]

At times, the media portrayed the Irish in a very negative light. *Punch* especially was inclined to do this. In fact, Irish people were insulted and presented as either an ape or a pig. In contrast, it was deemed flattering that Ireland, their home country referred to as 'Hibernia', was symbolised as a woman. Papers had a tendency to dramatise events and some of the articles published in the *Examiner* could have provoked animosity between the Irish and English people. It didn't seem to, the Irish in Huddersfield were fortunate as on the whole they were tolerated as a group.

The Irish mainly settled in the town centre where jobs were more available. In addition, living in the town meant that they were within walking distance of their workplace. Yet, life in the town was not easy; the Irish were poorly paid and lived in primitive conditions. However, attempts were being made to improve the conditions people lived in which had a mixed reception amongst the Irish people.

It was discovered that the Irish tended to move around a lot and were able to do this since they were merely lodgers or visitors. Interestingly, there were not enough Irish in Huddersfield to form a 'ghetto' but there were certain areas in the town where they tended to

[798] D. G. Wright, *The Chartist Risings in Bradford* (Bradford, Bradford Libraries & Information Service, 1987), p. 50.

live. Many lived in courts or alleys off the main town streets. A true picture cannot be envisualised of what life was like then but clearly a lack of adequate sanitation, problems of disease and illnesses mean that conditions were probably poor. Some experts argue that the Irish were very accepting of the circumstances they lived in and didn't have the same expectations as English people for comfort. Conditions in Huddersfield do appear to be poor and some of the Irish working class homes do appear to be very different to the English working class, however, every effort was made by Improvement Commissioners to improve the situation.

Understandably, diseases bred in such conditions and were a common feature in industrial towns and cities in the nineteenth century. The Irish were weakened by their harsh journey to Britain and found it difficult to fight the illnesses that arose. Also, the tradition of the Irish 'wake' and their reluctance to go to hospital meant that any outbreaks of infections were attributed to them. Following on from this, their neighbours were not endeared to them.

Landlords in both England and Ireland were averse to spending money on improving their properties. In Huddersfield, the landlords were generally English but some of their houses were used as lodging houses run by the Irish. Landlords wherever were driven by their desire to make money rather than spend it on improving their property. However, the authorities were driven to improve the situation of the people.

Many of the changes were implemented after the *Improvement Act of 1848*. Admittedly, it took time for the upgrades to occur but even so, the majority of the Irish were there when enhancements were being made. Naturally, for some any delay was fatal but the intention was to change things for the better for the future generations and to assist the existing population as much was feasible.

Some Irish people lived in cellars and here is an area that the committees particularly endeavoured to improve. After the inspection of premises, recommendations were made on what action would be taken against landlords who failed to comply with their advice. It was found that many unsuitable homes were used as lodging houses. Sometimes, a lack of money forced people to take in lodgers but other times, it was purely for financial gain. It is clear from the Minutes of the *Lodging House Committee* and extracts from the *Huddersfield Examiner*, that the Committee were often ignored by Irish lodging house keepers. In response to this, habitual offenders were reprimanded, fined and some were even sent to prison.

Such punishments convey the commitment of the authorities to ensuring that change occurred. Lodging houses were required to adhere to certain criteria before they were allowed to be registered. Naturally, single people were the most likely to live in lodging houses as it was financially viable. At time, families too resorted to this option, when again finances dictated that it was necessary. However, English people too lived in similar circumstances and like the Irish were even known to live in cellars. Obviously, poverty alone motivated people to live in cellars; it was not purely restricted to a specific nationality.

It has been asserted that St. Patrick's was built in 1832 to cater for an expanding Irish population. However, during the Famine and in the immediate years afterwards, the town really expanded. Both families and single people came to live in the town. On the whole, the Irish population was young, many had yet to settle down and get married. In light of this, family sizes didn't appear very large.

Examination of the census returns does not reveal who was exactly related to who when families in a street shared the same surnames. It is clear though that within a family, the same jobs were taken by people. Often, there was a pattern and it is highly probable that siblings or parents could have assisted other family members secure a job. Many of the jobs

taken were low paid and attributed to the fact that the Irish lacked an education. However, it was soon realised by the church that there was an urgent need to improve the literacy skills of the congregation to help them better themselves. To facilitate this before the school was built, classes were held each Sunday afternoon at the church. Success was not immediate, it was not an overnight affair that people learnt to read and write, instead progress was gradual.

The types of jobs taken by the Irish in Huddersfield were varied and there appears to have been a genuine eagerness amongst the Irish to support themselves. Nonetheless, of course there were people who didn't work and were either paupers or vagrants but generally the Irish tried to avoid relying on such options. Certain jobs like hawking and labouring appear to have been very popular amongst the Irish but formal textile work which was popular in Bradford was barely evident. There were some Irish who did textile work in their homes but not a sizeable number of them. Occasionally Irish people in Britain were entrepreneurs and attempted to improve their situation by opening beer houses. On the whole, there was little evidence of this in Huddersfield; the only type of self-employment that was popular was that there many types of hawkers who sold a wide variety of products. Those that opted to do labouring did so as it was a transferable skill from Ireland. Undoubtedly there was a deep need amongst the Irish to survive which explains why so many different types of jobs were taken to ensure this.

The fact that some Irish people married English people suggests that there were relationships between English and Irish people. However, it was not possible to determine whether or not it was a relationship between Catholics and Protestants. Evidence has been provided to confirm that the Catholic Church was strongly opposed to marriages between people of different faiths but there is no evidence that they were averse to marriages between English and Irish Catholics. In fact, to keep the two communities apart is one of their main reasons for establishing Catholic Schools. When mixed marriages did occur, every effort was

made to ensure that the children were raised in the Catholic faith. A conscious effort was made by the priest to ensure that the children were both christened and encouraged to attend a Catholic school. The Church was very authoritarian in its dealings with the people and often orders were distributed from the pulpit.

The marriage records of St. Patrick's indicate that there were indeed marriages between English and Irish people. Some of the people could have met at church and subsequently married. It is clear from the census returns that many of the inter-marriages occurred elsewhere judging by the birthplaces of their children. In total about one-tenth of the population actually inter-married. The reason there were so few was because of the age of the population in the town. Many of the migrants were either in their late teens or early 20s and therefore had not got around to marrying yet. Within ten years, the situation could have altered dramatically. There is no evidence that such relationships endured any hostility from the locals. In addition, it is not known why the people in mixed marriages re-located to Huddersfield. It could have been merely because of work that people were encouraged to move to the town. There were times when inter-married couples lived close to one another. This could have been either coincidental or a conscious decision so that a support network was available. The latter is unlikely in view of the lack of hostility that existed in the town.

A common assumption is that Irish Catholic families were larger than English ones. Detailed examination of the census returns proves that this was not the case. Irish families were recurrently of a similar size to English ones. Naturally, there were odd exceptions that contradict this conclusion, but on the whole this was not a general trend. The reason for this was the age of the parents who were mainly young. In a case study of Castlegate, in the Town Centre, it was found that parents were generally in their 20s, obviously there were older parents but the age range of the Irish population in the town was usually under 40.

It is a misperception to assume that all couples had children. The census returns confirm that there were childless couples. In the main, it was because of the age range of the couples and some were obviously newlyweds and as yet, did not have a family. By the time of the next census, this could have significantly altered.

Obviously, the cultures of the English and Irish people were very different. Consequently, there were misunderstandings between the two groups. Some of the Irish reverted to the customs and habits that they had practised at home such as keeping pigs or building primitive houses. This behaviour was misunderstood by some of the English people but in Huddersfield, the keeping of pigs was both an Irish and English trait. The authorities did their best to deal with the situation and admirably treated both Irish and English offenders the same.

Throughout, all of their hardships, the church was a visible presence. Some priests believed that inebriated Catholics brought disrepute to the faith. Nonetheless, the priests in the main supported their congregation and a few even died administering the sacraments to them. Sometimes their support was spiritual, other times it was constructive whereby they encouraged them to better themselves or acted as their spokesperson in certain predicaments. In Huddersfield, as previously mentioned there were indeed odd occasions when the priests were mediators for their parishioners but compared to elsewhere in the country it was not really the case.

The Irish were ever present in the church community and many of the priests and nuns were in fact Irish. This was useful as they were familiar with Irish customs and an added bonus was that some could communicate with the parishioners in their native tongue. Connacht, where it was established that some of the migrants came from, is traditionally an

Irish speaking area. Therefore, communication difficulties were not an additional obstacle for the new migrants to overcome when they first moved to the area.

Some historians argue that the Irish Catholic Church was very different to the English Church as the way they practised their faith was dissimilar.[799] In Ireland, it was seemingly acceptable that people were not regular attendees on a Sunday. In England however, the priests were enthusiastic in their efforts to encourage people to attend and the fact that they were successful in collecting enough money for the upkeep of the church and to build a school proves that they were definitely successful in a monetary sense.

The Irish may have been few in number but clearly they made an impact in all areas of town life. The church, schools and society were all deeply affected by their arrival and some of their descendants still reside in the town today. For many migrants, when they first came to the town, there were few opportunities to better themselves but the efforts of both the authorities and the church ensured that the situation was altered for their descendants.

Sometimes, the mere existence of the Irish was disliked and this was blatantly obvious in how criminals were treated in the local court or in the media. Obviously, at times, the actions of a few tarnished the image of all. Like any nationality, there were habitual offenders who repeatedly were in trouble with the law. The types of crimes committed varied in seriousness and many were fuelled by either poverty or by drink. Some magistrates were more lenient than others when deciding on a punishment.

Occasionally, punishments given were meant to deter others from committing a similar offence. At other times the individual circumstances of the criminal is ignored. There does not appear to have been any consistency in the way the Irish were treated. The Irish

[799] Raphael Samuel, 'An Irish Religion', in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, 11 Minorities & Outsidser* (London, Routledge, 1989), p. 102.

preferred to drink spirits which meant that they were quickly intoxicated. Following on from being drunk, their personalities altered making them abusive and even quiet people under the influence of alcohol behaved out of character. Such behaviour was divisive and clearly unsettled both life in the town and relationships between the two communities.

In short, sometimes the experiences of the Irish in Huddersfield were similar with what happened elsewhere, but at other times they were very different. The most significant distinction was that a formal 'ghetto' didn't occur in the town but instead certain streets were favoured by them. Poverty forced people to live in undesirable accommodation that resulted in them catching diseases raging at the time. The Irish 'wake', their distrust of hospitals and weak immune system meant that they were unable to fight diseases like typhus that quickly came to be referred to as the 'Irish fever'. The Catholic faith was an important part of the emigrants' lives and both the Church and schools expanded because of their arrival. Their financial generosity facilitated the building of St. Patrick's school and in time other churches in the areas. Thus, the Irish community may have only been small, yet their presence was visible throughout the town. Although few in number, their impact was far reaching.

APPENDICES

Table 1.4: Migratory Patterns to Huddersfield[800]

Name of family	Where they lived	Number in the family	How many were Irish born?	Route way of the family to Huddersfield	Points to Note:
Clancy 14/1/74	Aspley, Town Centre, South – East.	3	1 – Youngest child.	Family moved from Huddersfield to Dublin and then returned.	Mother and oldest son were born in Huddersfield.
Henshaw 32/2/52	Commercial Street, Town Centre, South-East	4	1 - Father	Via Leeds as eldest two children born there	Youngest born in Hudd and only 8 mths. Father - widower.
Lomax 81/4/50	Castlegate, Town-Centre, South-East.	5	1 – Wife	Via Oldham, where eldest two children were born.	Father was local and moved for a time with his family to Oldham.
Murphy 16/1/93	Colne Terrace, Town Centre South-East	5	1 - Father	Moved from Huddersfield to Lancashire and then back to Hudd.	Eldest 2 children born in Hudd, youngest in Lancashire.
Gillon 882/34/19	Crowther's Buildings, Longroyd	7	1 – Eldest Son	From Belfast where eldest son was born to Lancashire where eldest daughter born.	Mother was from Edinburgh.

[800] Census Enumerator Returns of Huddersfield, 1851, HO 107/2295. (Note under the family name is the roll number, enumeration district and schedule number for each family).

Hopkins 270/11/80	Boulder's Yard, Town Centre North.	5	4	The second youngest child was born in Huddersfield but the youngest was born in Ireland.	Family had a visitor staying who was Irish. There could be a mistake in the census. Perhaps the youngest child rather than the second youngest was born in Huddersfield. Another explanation is that the family could have engaged in some temporary or seasonal migration.
Cashley 261/11/40	Castlegate, Town Centre North	10	1 - Father	Family travelled via Cumberland, to Preston to Halifax.	Mother was from Carlisle. 5 children born in Cumberland, 1 in Preston, 1 in Halifax and youngest in Hudd.
Morgan 255/11/6	Castlegate, Town Centre North	4	1 – Wife	From London to Southampton, then Hudd.	Mother = Irish and must have moved to London.
Kershaw 190/8/59	Kirkmoor Place, Town Centre North	4	1 – Head, the mother	Eldest 2 children were born in Lancashire.	Youngest child was born in Yorkshire but not specified where.

Table 1.5 A Street in Town Centre North – Post Office Yard[801]

Married or Single	Name of family	Occupation	Number of Children	Number of Children born in Huddersfield	Points to note
Single	Darby 265/11/62	Labourer	N/A		Lodger
Single	Dempsey 263/11/55	Labourer	N/A		Lodger
Single	Dolan 265/11/63	Commercial Traveller	N/A		Visitor
Married	Duffy 263/11/57	Former Labourer	1	0	
Married	Dunn 263/11/54	Hawker	0	N/A	
Married	Elward 265/11/64	Shoemaker	0	N/A	
Married	Finan 267/11/69	Glazier	0	N/A	The uncle and his wife live with the family.
Married	Foy 267/11/69	Labourer	1	0	The son was born in Newcastle and all are listed as visitors.
Single	Gallagher 265/11/62	Unknown	N/A		Lodger No occupation listed
Single	Garret 263/11/57	Manufacturer	N/A		Lodger

[801] Census Enumerator Returns, 1851, Town Centre North – Boulder's Yard, HO 107/2295.

Single	Geraghty 263/11/57	Unknown	N/A		Lodger No occupation listed
Married	Gibbons 267/11/69	Labourer	2	1	All are classed as visitors.
Married	Gillerton 265/11/64	Labourer	5	2	No occupation except for the father and the oldest child who is listed at home.
Married	Golden 265/11/62	Unknown	4	0	Lodgers
Single	Glynn 264/11/60	Labourer	N/A		Lodger
Single	Hagarty 266/11/68	Cordwainer	N/A		Listed as visitor.
Single	Hanley 263/11/55	Tailor	N/A		Lodger
Married	Judge 264/11/61	Glazier Labourer	N/A		Lodgers. Two brothers living together.
Married	Keating 264/11/60	Labourer	5	0	Lodgers Only occupations are listed for the oldest two sons, one is a labourer like the father and another is at home.
Single	Kelly 265/11/62	Labourer	N/A		1 recorded as visitor and 2 are lodgers. All 3 work in the same profession.
Widow	Kelly 263/11/55	Labourer	2	0	Lodgers and possible relatives listed as lodger & lodger's wife.

Married	Kelly 264/11/61	Labourer	N/A		Lodger
Single	Kelly 266/11/68	Labourer	N/A		Visitor
Single	Kelly 267/11/69	Servant	N/A		Visitor
Married	Kelly 263/11/52	Labourer	1	1	Lodgers
Single	Laffe 266/11/68	Dyer	N/A		Visitor
Single	Loughan 264/11/57	Dressmaker	N/A		Lodger
Single	McGrath 267/11/69	Labourer	N/A		Visitor
Single	Mahon 264/11/60	Labourer Beerhouse-keeper	N/A		2 brothers living together.
Single	Mee 268/11/70	Servant	N/A		Visitors 2 sisters living together. The sisters are fifteen and twenty.
Married	Murphy 266/11/68	Glazier	1	0	This family are classed as visitors. Not long in Hudd as daughter is only one.
Single	Murray 264/11/60	Labourer	N/A		Lodger

Table 2.3: Inter-marriages in Huddersfield Town Centre North: Post Office Yard[802]

Inter-marriage	Name of family	Occupation	Number of children	Children born in Huddersfield	Points to Note
Single	Armstrong 268/11/70	Labourer			Classed as visitor
Married	Bradwell 263/11/55	Labourer	0		Classed as lodger
Single	Brodgons 265/11/62	Cloth dresser			
Single	Cain 267/11/69	Labourer			Classed as visitor
Unknown	Carney 263/11/55	Unknown	2	0	Head of the family was a woman. 3 visitors staying. There were a husband and wife who were Irish who had a daughter born in Yorkshire.
No	Conlan 267/11/69	Glazier	1	0	There was an Irish lodger who had a son born in Huddersfield and also an Irish visitor of 12 yrs old staying in the house.
No	Connolly 266/11/64	Labourer	6	0	There was a considerable age difference between the parents. Husband was 60 and wife was only 40.

[802] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield Town Centre North – HO 107/2295.

No	Conry 265/11/63	Labourer	3	3	
No	Crachan 267/11/69	Fiddler	0		
Single	Darby 265/11/62	Labourer			
Single	Dalton 263/11/57	Labourer			Lodger
Single	Dempsey 263/11/55	Labourer			Lodger and from Mayo
Single	Dolan 265/11/63	Commercial Traveller			Visitor
No	Duffy 263/11/57	Former Labourer	1	0	Husband 71 and wife was 52.
No	Dunn 263/11/54	Hawker	0		
Unknown	Elward 265/11/64	Shoemaker	1	0	
No	Finan 264/11/61	Glazier	0		Uncle and his wife were living with them. Uncle was labourer.
No	Foy 267/11/69	Labourer	1	0	Son was born in Newcastle
Single	Gallagher 265/11/62	Unknown			Lodger
Single	Garret 263/11/57	Manufacturer			Lodger
Single	Geraghty 263/11/57	Unknown			Lodger
No	Gibbons 267/11/69	Labourer	2	1	All classed as visitors.
No	Gillerton 265/11/64	Labourer	5	2	
No	Golden 265/11/62	Unknown	4	0	
Single	Glynn 264/11/60	Labourer			
Single	Hagarty 266/11/68	Cordwainer			From Sligo.
Single	Hanley 263/11/55	Tailor			
Single	Judge 264/11/61	Glazier Labourer			2 brothers
Unknown	Harkin 265/11/64	Unknown	2	0	Eldest son was labourer also.

No	Keating 264/11/60	Labourer	5	0	Also had a visitor who was labourer.
No	Kelly 263/11/52	Labourer	0		Both from Roscommon
Unknown	Kelly 266/11/68	Labourer	0		Visitor
Single	Kelly 264/11/61	Labourer			Lodger
Single	Kelly 267/11/69	Servant			Visitor + 2 lodgers.
Single	Kelly 265/11/62	Labourer	0		Visitor
Single	Laffe 266/11/68	Dyer			Lodger
Single	Loughan 264/11/55	Dressmaker			Visitor
Single	McGrath 267/11/69	Labourer			2 brothers
Single	Mahon 264/11/60	Beerhousekeeper Labourer	0		2 sisters, classed as visitors.
Single	Mee 268/11/70	Servant			
No	Murphy 266/11/68	Glazier	1	0	
Single	Murray 264/11/60	Labourer			

Table 2.5: Dock Street, Huddersfield [803]

Inter-marriage	Name of family	Occupation	Number of children	Number of children born in Huddersfield	Points to Note:
Single	Bannon 62/3/85	Servant	N/A		
Single	Carney 59/3/59	Tinner/Brazier	N/A		
Unknown	Divanny 58/3/57	Agricultural Labourer Domestic Servant	2	0	The father is a widower and the jobs listed are that of his two daughters.
Married	Frane 55/3/31	Mechanics Labourer	N/A		
Married	Healy 62/3/85	Clothes Broker Apprentice Shoemaker Scholar	4	4	The professions of only some of the family are listed. By looking at the age of the others, one can calculate that they were at home.
Single	Marshall 56/3/41	Hawker of Drapery	N/A		
Married	Malloy 56/3/41	Brush Hawker	N/A		
Married	Niton 54/3/24	Hawker of Hardware	2	2	

[803] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre South-East – Dock Street, HO 107/2295.

Unknown	Nolan 56/3/41	Factory Worker	1	1	The mother was a widow and only a job is listed for the daughter.
Married	O'Marra 59/3/63	Stone Mason	6	5	The eldest son was born in Ireland and was following his father's profession. His sister was a factory worker and the other siblings were all scholars.
Inter-married	Walker 57/3/43	Chelsea Pensioner	N/A		
Inter-married	Worthington 60/3/64	Warehouseman	5	5	The mother was local. It was one of her sons marrying an Irish girl that led to an Irish connection.

Table 2.6: Inter – marriages in Greenhead, Springwood & Highfield[804]

Name of family	Street Name	Occupation	Number of children	Number of children born in Huddersfield	Points to Note:
Hunt	Barker's Yard 479/19/29	Labourer (Husband) Hawker (wife)	1	1	Husband was from Sligo and was a lodger.
Dunn	Duke Street 493/19/129	Glass Dealer Piecer	7	7	Both the parents were glass dealers. The mother Bridget was from Huddersfield. Their eldest child was a piecer.
Mason	Grove Street 484/19/60	Cordwainer	1	1	The father was from Middlesex.
Mooney	New North Road 584/23/44	Clerk	2	2	The father was from Dublin and the mother was from Huddersfield.
Cabin	Swallow Street 514/20/89	Labourer	3	3	The mother was from Longford and the father was from Leighton Buzzard.
Dews	Swallow Street 515/20/94	Excavator Labourer (Husband) Washerwoman (wife)	0		The mother was from Cavan and the father was from Bowness.

[804] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Greenhead, Springwood & Highfield, HO 107/2295.

Crowther	Upperhead Row 516/20/98	Cordwainer (Husband) Shoebinder (wife)	7	3	The mother was from Kilkenny and the father was from Manchester. The eldest and youngest were born in Huddersfield. 2 were born in Ashton, Lancashire and 2 in Manchester.
Kearney	Upperhead Row 478/19/26	Hawker	2	Unknown	It says that the mother and children were born in England only. There was a lodger there also who was a Hawker with the same surname so he was probably a brother.
Parker	Upperhead Row 503/20/20	Plaster's Labourer (Husband) Drapery Pedlar (wife)	N/A		The wife was from Galway.
Manning	West Field 567/22/108	Incumbent Trinity Church	3	3	The father was Irish and the mother was English.

Table 2.7: Inter-marriages in Kirkheaton,[805] Kirburton [806]& Lockwood[807]

Area: Street Name	Name of family	Occupation	Number of children	Children born in Huddersfield	Points to Note
Kirkheaton Shaw Cross	Dransfield RO560/3C/113	Handloom Weaver	7	2	Places of birth unrecognisable Enumerator even questioned Cowlan where two of the children were born. The others were meant to have been born in Thornton, Watlas.
Kirkburton Vicarage	Collins RO511/5D/95	Vicar	5	0	The wife and children were from Lincolnshire.
Lockwood Old Manchester Road	Bottomley RO 157/1I/91	Woollen Warehouse Clerk Servant	2	1	The mother was a servant from Huddersfield.
Lockwood Springdale House	Fisher RO 66/1D/65	Silk Spinner	6	6	The mother was from Lisburn. 2 visitors were staying with them, 1 from Lisburn (maybe family member) and another child was from Cheshire.

[805] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Kirkheaton HO 107/2294.
[806] Ibid., Kirkburton HO 107/2293.
[807] Ibid., Lockwood, HO 107/2296.

Lockwood Springdale	Hogan RO 68/1D/72	Gardener	0	N/A	Wife was from Lancaster. An Irish visitor, Maria, was staying with them.
Lockwood Victoria St	Oldfield RO 10/1A/51	Stonemason	2	2	
Lockwood Birkhouse Cottage	Scholefield RO 146/1I/12	Dyer	6	4	The eldest two sons were drapers.
Lockwood Crosland Hill	Blakeley RO 177/1K/10	Delver Power Loom Weaver	0	N/A	The husband was Irish and the wife was from the area.

Table 2.9: Inter-marriages in Huddersfield Town Centre North[808]

Street Name	Name of family	Occupation	Number of children	Children born in Huddersfield	Points to Note
Benson Court	Mellor RO219/9/119	Shoemaker	1	1	Bridget the wife was Irish and her husband Samuel was local.
Boulder's Yard	Connor 270/11/79	Labourer	0	N/A	Martin the husband is classed as a visitor. His wife is from Leeds.
Boulder's Yard	Costello 268/11/71	Hawker	0	N/A	Mgt the wife is from Harrogate. Both are classed as visitors.
Boulder's Yard	Caffrey 261/11/37	Stonemason Dressmaker	1	1	John is married to a local.
Castlegate	Cashley 261/11/40	Dyer	8	1	1 son is a dyer like his father. 4 are factory workers. Family came via Cumberland and Preston.

[808] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre North, HO 107/2295.

Castlegate	Morgan 255/11/6	Painter	2	0	All are lodgers. Dad and eldest child are from London. Wife - from Dublin and youngest child is from Southampton
Chadwick Fold	Hollingwood 292/12/36	Labourer	0	N/A	The wife Elizabeth is from Wortley, Leeds.
Kirkmoor Place	Moor 188/8/45	Tinner	5	Unknown	It says the children were born in Yorkshire. The father is from Leeds.
Kirkgate	Morris 281/11/153	Smallware Dealer	3	3	Richard the father is from Shropshire and the wife is Irish.
Union Street	Hopley 173/3/123	Tailor	5	5	The wife is from Briestfield.
York Street	McCullough 163/7/62	Furnace Man	1	1	William the father is from Scotland.

Table 2.10: Inter-marriages in Huddersfield Town Centre South-East [809]

Street Name	Name of family	Occupation	Number of children	Children born in Huddersfield	Points to Note
Aspley	Emmerton RO 14/1/75	Calico Printer	5	4	Father Andrew was from Dublin and Ann his wife was local. Their elder two children were born in Lancashire.
Castlegate	Brown 91/4/106	Agricultural Labourer	0	N/A	Mary was Irish. They had no children and were both in their 40s.
Castlegate	Haines 91/4/107	Hawker	0	N/A	Matilda was from Malton, both were in their 30s.
Castlegate	Lomax 81/4/50	Whitesmith	3	1	The father was local; his elder 2 children were born in Oldham.

[809] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre South-East, HO 107/2295.

Castlegate	Noble 83/4/52	Race Runner	0	N/A	Mary was from Lancashire. They had a lodger staying with them Jacob who was a cutter. All 3 were classed as lodgers.
Castlegate	Robertshaw 83/4/52	Cooper	1	0	Their daughter was born in Bradford. The mother was Irish.
Castlegate	Wright 83/4/52	Cotton Stripper	1	N/A	Isaac, the father was from Stockport and their son was born there.
Colne Terrace	Murphy 16/1/93	Calico Printer	3	2	Eldest 2 born in Hudd, and youngest in Lancashire. Mary was from Horbury and husband was from Dublin.
Dock Street	Walker 57/3/43	Chelsea Pensioner	0	N/A	Margaret was Irish and both in 40s.

Leeds Road	Wood 77/4/30	Yeast Seller	1	1	Samuel the husband was from Lancashire.
Quay Street	Hilton 88/4/81	Coal Miner	0	N/A	Both in their 20s.
Thomas Street	Gamble 128/6/32	Plasterer	0	N/A	Both were in their 30s. Husband was from Wisbech, Cambridgehs ire.
Watergate	Lowden 64/3/97	Tailor	0	N/A	Both in their 60s.
Windsor Court	Flanaghan 96/4/132	Mason's Labourer	7	7	Edward the father was Irish.

Table 2.11: Inter-marriages in Huddersfield Town Centre South-West [810]

Street Name	Name of family	Occupation	Number of children	Children born in Huddersfield	Points to Note
Brook's Yard	Nutter 337/14/11	Journeyman Shoemaker	1	0	Both the wife Katherine and daughter Elizabeth were from Dublin. The husband William was local.
Buxton Road	Mann 337/14/8	Mason's Labourer	5	1	The older 4 children were Irish. Mother Bridget was from Canterbury. The eldest daughter was a woollen scribbler and 13 yr old son was a hawker.
Charles St	Moran 397/16/85	Boot Closer	2	1	The wife Hannah and eldest daughter were from Nottingham -shire.

[810] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre South-West, Ho 107/2295

Charles St	Sheny 398/16/88	Journeyman Bootmaker	0	N/A	The wife Mary was from Brotherton. They were childless and in their 40s.
Glass Alley	Lodge 424/17/55	Plasterer's Labourer	1	1	Wife Alice was 39 and Irish. Her husband was local and 48. Their son John was only 8 mths.
Glass Alley	Savage 424/17/55	Mason's Labourer	1	1	The mother Ann was local.
John St	Flood 396/16/74	Cordwainer	1	0	Ann was from Liverpool and their son Thomas aged 14 was from Manchester and recorded as being at home.
John St	McMullen 394/16/62	Tailor	5	5	The mother was from Elland and the eldest son was a tailor like his father.

Macaulay Street	Abbey 442/17/45	Hardware Dealer	0	N/A	Husband was local and they were in their 20s.
Macaulay Street	Lawlas 460/18/74	Shoemaker (Husband) Domestic Duties (Wife)	0	N/A	Hugh (48) was from Dundalk and his wife Elizabeth (50) was from Northumber land.
Manchester Road	Brook 370/17/71	Printer	2	2	The father was from Lepton.
Manchester Street	Dowd 473/17/105	Railway Labourer	0	N/A	The wife Bess was from North Sutton, she was 30 and her husband was 40.
Manchester Street	Hearn 4430/17/94	Cordwainer	0	N/A	Mgt was from Liverpool, she was 33 and the husband was 45.
Manchester Street	Knight 428/17/78	Hardware Hawker	3	2	Eldest child was Irish. Mother Georgina was from London and a hardware hawker too.

Manchester Street	McDonald 429/17/86	Ladies Bootmaker	1	1	John was Scottish.
Manchester Street	Walsh 428/17/81	Labourer	2	2	The wife Sarah was local.
Manchester Sreet	Wrigley 426/17/63	Factory Worker (wife) Weaver (husband)	0	N/A	Thomas was in his 30s and Ellen was in her late 20s.
Outcote Bank	Dunn 373/15/89	Pauper	6	6	The father was from Cork and both his wife and he were classed as paupers. Their eldest daughter was a woollen piecer.
Outcote Bank	Duffy 374/15/97	Agricultural Labourer	6	2	There are 3 lodgers staying with them including the lodger's son.
Ramsden Street	Lister 332/13/118	Cart Driver	1	1	Bridget the wife was from Sligo.

Station Yard	Byrne 470/18/134	Stone Sawer	5	1	Both wife and 1 child were born in Bradford. Another child was born in Halifax. The father was from Sligo.
Upperhead Row	Duffy 464/18/100	Hawker of Pots	2	2	Thomas was from Mayo, his wife's job was housework.
Water Lane	MacKay 409/16/157	Spinner	2	0	Wife from Stockport; eldest born in Manchester, youngest in Bristol.
Water Lane	Murphy 407/16/148	Silk Carder	2	1	The wife was from Lancaster, their eldest son was two and born in Manchester and their youngest child Mary was only seven weeks old.

Table 4.1: Types of Other Jobs Held by the Irish according to the 1851 Census[811]

Types of Jobs	Numbers
Bazaar Keeper	1
Beer House Keeper	1
Block Printer	4
Bookkeeper	1
Boot Closer	2
Brushmaker	1
Burler	1
Cabinet Maker	1
Calico Printer	3
Capmaker	3
Card Paster	1
Cart Driver	1
Cart Maker	1
Civil Eng St Holder	1
Clerk	2
Clerk to Wine Merchant	1
Cloth Dresser	4
Cloth Finisher	1
Cloth Salesman	1
Coach maker	1
Coalminer	3
Collier	1
Cook	3
Cooper	1
Cordwainer	7
Cotton Carder	1
Cotton Cutter	1
Cotton Piecer	3
Cotton Printer	1
Cotton Stripper	1
Cutter	1
Delver	7
Domestic	6
Doormat Maker	4
Draper	3
Dyer	3
Engine Cleaner	1
Feeder	2
Fish Dealer	2
Flock Picker	1
Furnace man	1
Fruit Dealer	1

[811] Huddersfield Census Returns of 1851.

Gardener	3
Glass Dealer	2
Glazier	11
Glazier/Plumber	2
Greengrocer	1
Groom	1
Hairdresser	1
Handloom Weaver	3
Hatter	1
Horse Dealer	1
Iron Monger	1
Joiner	1
Knitter	2
Land Surveyor	1
Licensed Victualler	1
Linen Draper	1
Linen Weaver	1
Manufacturer	1
Marble Finisher	1
Marble Mason	1
Mason	5
Milliner	4
Mule Piecer	1
Musician	5
Navvy	2
Ostler	1
Painter	4
Pensioner	2
Piecer	9
Plasterer	2
Power Loom Weaver	1
Prisoner	1
Porter	3
Print & Compositor	2
Race Runner	1
Saddler	1
Sailor	1
Scribbler	1
Shoebinder	2
Shopkeeper	1
Silk Carder	1
Silk Dresser	1
Silk Spinner	1
Slubber	2
Spinner	1
Stocking Knitter	1
Stone Breaker	1
Stone Getter	1

Stone Mason	11
Tinker	1
Teaser	1
Tinner & Brazier	4
Umbrella Maker	1
Warehouseman	3
Watchmaker	1
Whitesmith	1
Wood Carver	1
Wood Sawer	1
Wool Dyer	2
Wool Factory	1
Woollen Cloth Dyer	2
Woollen Cloth Dresser	1
Woollen Feeder	1
Woollen Merchant	1
Woollen Mill	3
Woollen Piecer	7
Woollen Salesman	2
Woollen Spinner	1
Woollen Teaser	2
Woollen Warehouse Clerk	1
Woollen Weaver	1

Table 4.3: Boulder's Yard – Town Centre North[812]

Name of Family	Occupation	Number of Children	Points to Note:
Baile 269/11/75	Labourer	0	Male and single.
Burns 269/11/75	Labourer	1	
Concannon 270/11/81	None listed	1	Both females classed as visitors.
Connor 270/11/79	Labourer	0	Both he and his wife were classed as visitors.
Costello 268/11/71	Hawker	0	Both he and his wife are classed as visitors. His wife was from Harrogate.
Cunningham 271/11/83	None Listed	1	The mother was Irish and had a baby daughter with no mention of the father.
Donnelly 268/11/71	Boot & Shoemaker (x3) Knitter (x2) Errand Boy Scholar (x3**)**	8	All the children were born in Huddersfield and the eldest was 22 years old. The famine was not the motivator for this family leaving Ireland.
Flanagan 269/11/77	None Listed	1	A mother and son and there is no reference of the father.
Galvin 269/11/79	Labourer	0	Man was single.
Healy 270/11/82	Labourer	0	Both he and his wife are Irish.
Hill 270/11/82	Labourer	0	Both he and his wife are Irish.
Hopkins 270/11/72	Labourer	3	Refers to a visitor who is also a labourer.

[812] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre North – Boulder's Yard, HO 107/2295.

Jury 269/11/75	Hawker	0	Single male.
Kayle 270/11/83	Hawker	1	Mother and child.
Kenny 271/11/83	Labourer	3	2 eldest children were born in Ireland and the youngest was born in Huddersfield.
Kilrow 269/11/75	Labourer	1	
Logan 270/11/81	None specified	0	Single male.
May 269/11/76	Labourer	0	Single male.
McCarthy 270/11/81	None specified	1	Mother and son. Son born in Stockport.
McGill 270/11/79	Labourer	0	Single male.
Morrell 270/11/81	Servant	0	Single female.
Michael 270/11/80	None specified	1	Mother and son.
Neland 270/11/81	Hawker (x2)	1	Father and son, both had the same profession.

Table 4.7 Occupations in Lower Head Row & Makin's Yard, Town Centre, South-East

Street Name	Name of family	Occupation	Number of Children	Points to Note:
Lower Head Row	Coyne RO 80/4/42	Labourer	0	Single lodger
Lower Head Row	Joulton 78/4/37	Dressmaker	0	Single lodger
Lower Head Row	Kergon 78/4/37	Labourer	4	All children born in Hudd.
Lower Head Row	McCabe 80/4/42	Labourer	3	All children were born in Hudds. Family had 2 lodgers William & Michael McConna. Michael was on Parish Relief & William was Plumber/Glazier.
Lower Head Row	Savage 80/4/42	On Parish Relief	0	Classed as lodger. Woman was 64 years old.
Lower Head Row	Wheetman 80/4/42	On Parish Relief	1	Mother & daughter. Mother was 52 & on parish relief, daughter worked in woollen factory.
Makin's Yard	Connor 66/3/108	Mason's Labourer	0	Single male lodger.
Makin's Yard	Farthing 66/3/108	Mason's Labourer	2	Wife was lodging housekeeper.

Makin's Yard	Faney 66/3/108	Unemployed Servant	0	Single lodger.
Makin's Yard	Gannan 66/3/108	Unemployed Servant	0	Appears to be 3 siblings, 2 were unemployed servants. 1 employed as mason's labourer.
Makin's Yard	Gateby 66/3/108	Mason's labourer	2	Man, 2 children living together.
Makin's Yard	Kilcummins 66/3/108	Unemployed Servant	0	Single lodger
Makin's Yard	Mahon 66/3/108	Unemployed Servant	0	Single lodger
Makin's Yard	Nolan 66/3/108	Mason's Labourer	1	Wife & daughter are unemployed servants.

Table 4.11: Occupations of families in Linthwaite

Street Name	Name of family	Occupation	Points to Note
Casson's Buildings	Dagnon HO 107/2296 RO 213/3B/35	Labourer	Both children born in Huddersfield.
Highhouse	McColem HO 107/2291 RO 244/4A/116.	Tailor	1 child born in Huddersfield.
Holywell	Dunotura HO 107/2291 RO 230/4A/13	Labourer	Single Man
Hoylehouse	Manning HO 107/2291 RO 238/4A/75	Servant	Single Woman
Linthwaite	Alley HO 107/2291 264/4B/99	Labourer	Brother & Sister – both were lodgers
Linthwaite	Brunigann HO 107/2291 263/4B/99	Labourer	Lodger, single man
Linthwaite	Conney HO 107/2291 263/4B/99	Labourer	Parents were 36 and 37 years of age and had a daughter 19 born in Ireland and a son age 1 born in Hudd.
Linthwaite	Darkin HO 107/2291 263/4B/99	Hawker	All were lodgers.
Linthwaite	Kelly HO 107/2291 263/4B/99	Labourer	Lodger.
Linthwaite	Kock HO 107/2291 263/4B/99	Unknown	Lodger
Linthwaite	Michael HO 107/2291 263/4B/99	Labourer	Lodger
Lower Houses	Armitage HO 107/2291 262/3E/7	Stone Getter	Travelled via Lancashire as one of their children was born there.
Road Side	McDermic HO 107/2291 257/4B/44	Tailor	Lodger
Warren House	Hughes HO 107/2296 210/3B/8	Horse Dealer	Single man.

Table 5. 4 Cross – matches made between St. Patrick's Parish Records and the Census Returns[813]

Name:	Referred to in Church Records as:	Date recorded:	Census Reference in 1851:
Patrick Carney	Witness	1842	32 year old Mason's Lab, Lucas Court, Town Centre North.
Mary Conlan	Godparent	1845	Wife 28, Post Office Yard, Town Centre North
Michael & Mary Dogherty	Married	1841	Possiibly Mary 26 year old living with 3 children in Vol. D.
Ann Duffy	Godparent	1845	Possibly Pauper, wife & 5 children, Town Centre South-West
James Duffy	Godparent	1845	Possibly Agricultural Labourer, Age 38, wife 40 housekeeper, 6 children & 3 lodgers, Town Centre South-West.
John Duffy	Godparent	1845	Possibly 42 year old Labourer living in Castlegate, Town Centre North.
Thomas & Sarah Ann Duffy	Married	1842	38 year old Hawker, wife 33 Housewife plus 2 children.
Peter & Bridget Dunn	Parents	1845	37 year old Glass Dealer, wife 36 same job, 7 children, Vol. D.
William Dunn	Child of above	1845	No reference to William, but youngest child called Thomas William aged 3 years old, possibly him and error in age.
Patrick Finan	Godparent	1845	50 year old Labourer, Post Office Yard, Town Centre North.
Thomas Finan	Witness	1841	36 year Old Glazier, living in Post Office Yard, Town Centre North (nephew of above)
William Fisher	Witness	1843	18 year old Factory Worker, Manchester St, Town Centre South-West.

[813] St. Patrick's Parish Records and Census Returns of Huddersfield, 1851.

Peter & Mary Flanaghan	Married	1842	28 year old Mason's Labourer, Town Centre South-West, wife Mary 27 and had 2 children.
John & Fanny Flannagan	Married	1841	See Gannon
John Gannon	Parent	1841	Possibly father of Fanny, 47 year old Mason's Labourer, Town Centre South-East.
Stephen & Mary Golden	Married	1844	30 year old Outdoor Labourer, married, Town Centre South-West.
Bridget Kelly	Godparent	1845	27 yeard old wife, George St, Vol. D. **or** from Post Office Yard, Town Centre North.
Thomas Kelly	Witness	1841	Possibly 50 year old widower Farm Labourer + 5 children **or** 32 year old Labourer, Post Office Yard.
John & Amelia Mooney	Married	1845	Clerk 31, wife 24, + 2 children, Vol. D.
Mary Moran	Godparent	1845	44 year old Domestic duties married to Owen.
Owen Moran	Godparent	1845	44 year old licensed victualler.
Patrick & Catherine Ryan	Married	1841	34 year old Gardener, wife 28 year old Earthenware Pedlar, 3 children, Vol. D.
John & Sarah Scanlon	Parents	1845	34 year old Mason's Labourer, wife 30, 3 children, Mary 6 year old, Honoria 2, Thomas 4. Town Centre South-West.
Mary Scanlon	Child	1845	Child of above and definite match in view of age and date of baptism.

Table 6.1: Where the Irish lived in the Town Centre. [814]

Street Name & Name of area where located:	Number of Listings of Irish people	Total Number of People	Points to Note:
Albion St, South-West	2	2	Both Single
Aspley, South-East	2	10	1 Inter-marriage
Barker's Yard, South-East	9	13	2 families & 2 single people
Barker's Yard, Greenhead	10	15	4 families & a couple. References to Sligo, Roscommon and Galway. 1 inter-marriage.
Beast Market, North	7	7	Lodging house keeper & 6 lodgers
Beast Market, South-East	1	1	Servant
Benson Court, North	5	7	2 Families – 1 of those is an inter-marriage with a local person that led to 1 child
Black Lion's Yard, Greenhead	2	4	1 family, oldest child born in Hudd and youngest in Manchester.
Boulder's Yard, North	39	59	2 Inter-marriages, Labouring most popular job, mixture single people & families.
Bradford Rd, North	5	11	1 family of 7, other people were single.
Bradley's Buildings, S. E.	2	2	Couple
Brickbank, South-East	12	13	2 families & 3 single people
Brook's Yard, South-West	19	27	Enumerator names where they are from, Mayo, Galway & Dublin & are mainly families
Buxton Rd, South-West	9	11	1 Inter-marriage, 1 couple & 2 single people
Castlegate, North	32	62	3 Inter-marriages, mainly occupied by families.
Castlegate, South-East	50	74	6 Inter-marriages, quite a lot of single people living there.
Chadwick Fold, North	7	8	7 single people, 1 inter-marriage, 1 widow
Chapel Hill, South-West	8	15	3 families
Charles St, South-West	5	10	2 Inter-marriages, widower and 2 single people.
Colne Square, South-East	3	3	1 family

[814] Census Enumerator Sheets of Huddersfield, 1851.

Colne Terrace, South-East	1	16	2 Inter-marriages, 3 families
Commercial St, South-East	2	5	1 Family & Single Girl
Crescent Top, South-West	1	1	Maid Servant
Cross Church St, S-West.	1	1	Servant Girl
Cross Grove St, Greenhead	5	5	1 Family and the Head a widower was a Chelsea Pesnioner
Denton Lane, North	27	34	Mainly families
Dock St, South-East	20	39	1 Inter-marriage, mainly families.
Duke St, Greenhead	13	26	5 families, 1 family were from Galway. 1 single man, 3 inter-marriages.
Fitzwilliam St, Greenhead	2	2	Unitarian Minister confirming Irish Protestant person in the town. 1 single person was a school mistress.
Glass Alley, South-West	2	6	2 Inter-marriages
Fox & Grapes, North	1	1	Servant
George St, Greenhead	7	9	A family and couple. The gentleman of the couple was a schoolmaster.
Greenhead Road, Greenhead	2	9	1 single man a tailor and a family. The father of the family was from Ireland, his son from Kent and the rest of the family was from Hudd.
Grey Horse Inn, South-West	3	3	Servant, Driver & Horse Keeper
Grove St, Greenhead	7	12	Single people and 2 families including 1 inter-marriage where gent was from Middlesex.
Halifax Rd, Greenhead	1	1	Servant
Hebble Terrace, North	1	2	Mother & Daughter
High St, South-West	4	5	1 family & 2 single people
John St, South-West	8	21	2 Inter-marriages, 1 single person & 4 families
Jowitt Sq, South-West	112	152	Mixture of families & single people
King St, North	1	1	Servant Girl
King St, South-West	2	2	Servants, 1 from Waterford & other Castlereagh
Kirkgate, North	19	30	1 Inter-marriage, mixture of families & single people
Kirkgate, South-West	1	1	Unemployed servant from Sligo

Kirkmoor Place, North	32	56	Mainly families living there
Leeds Rd, South-East	2	4	1 Inter-marriage & widow
Leigh Cottages, Greenhead	4	4	1 family.
Lower Head Rd, South-East	9	18	2 families, 2 single people, mother 7 daughter
Lucas Court, North	7	13	2 families & 2 single people
Macaulay St, South-West	5	8	Couple, 2 families, 1 Inter-marriage
Makin's Yard, South-East	20	20	3 families & 7 single people
Manchester Rd, South-West	3	6	1 Family, 2 Single People, 1 Inter-marriage
Manchester St, South-West	55	84	4 Inter-marriages, number of railway labourers, hawkers and tailors there
Market Place, South-West	2	2	Both Servants, 1 from Cork, other from Castlereagh
Market St, South-West	2	10	1 Family
New House, Greenhead	1	1	Servant Girl
New North Rd, Greenhead	9	12	1 family, 1 couple and single people including a surgeon and a nurse.
Newtown, North	2	7	1 family
Northumberland St, South-East	3	4	1 family & 1 single person
O'Connor's Yard, Greenhead	38	49	Mainly families with reference to people from Galway, Leitrim, Sligo and Roscommon.
Outcote Bank, South-West	18	30	1 Inter-marriage, mainly families
Peel's Yard, North	7	7	2 couples & 3 single people
Post Office Yard, North	101	111	Mixture of families, couples & single people
Princess St, South-West	1	1	Prisoner in lock-up
Quay St, South-East	20	23	1 Inter-marriage, 3 single people, 4 families & 2 couples
Queen St, North	1	1	Servant
Ramsden St, South-West	5	7	1 Family, couple & 3 single people. Birth place specified: Clare, Roscommon, Mayo & Sligo
Rosemary Lane, North	25	32	Mainly hawkers & single people.
Rosemary St, North	3	4	Hawkers
St. Paul's St, South-East	1	1	Lodger
Seedhill, South-East	1	1	Cook
Shore Head, South-East	22	27	4 families, 3 couples & 3 single people

Silk St, North	11	19	Mixture of families & single people.
South Parade, South-West	1	3	1 inter-marriage
South St, Greenhead	5	11	2 Families, 1 Domestic Servant.
Spread Eagle Inn, South-West	1	1	Classed as married shoemaker but on his own
Spring St, Greenhead	6	17	2 families and 2 single people.
Station Yard, South-West	1	7	1 Family, father from Sligo = Inter-marriage
Swallow St, Greenhead	94	144	Mainly families, with people from Cavan, Drogehda, Galway, Leitrim, Mayo and Sligo.
Swallow's Yd, South-East	1	1	Railway Labourer
Temple St, South-West	12	12	3 Families 1 Single person
Thomas St, South-East	5	6	1 Inter-marriage, 2 single people & father & daughter.
Towning Row, Greenhead	1	1	Widow
Trinity St, Greenhead	2	2	2 single people, one was a land surveyor and a servant.
Union St, North	7	14	1 Inter-marriage
Upper Head Row, South-West	35	44	1 Inter-marriage, Galway, Dublin, Mayo & Roscommon mentioned.
Upper Head Row, Greenhead	66	113	Mainly families with reference to people from Armagh, Clare, Dublin Galway, Kilkenny, Mayo, Westmeath, Roscommon, and Sligo.
Vagrant Office, South-West	29	29	Counties mentioned mainly in West of Ireland
Watergate, South-East	1	2	Inter-marriage
Water Lane, South-West	55	84	3 Inter-marriages, mainly single people
West Field, Greenhead	1	5	Father was Irish and was an Incumbent – Chairman of parish committee so was most probably an Irish Protestant.
Westgate, South-West	2	2	1 from Galway & 1 from Dublin
West Parade, Greenhead	1	1	Single Gentleman.
Wheat Sheaf Inn, South-West	4	5	Place of Birth named Dublin & Mayo
White Lion Yd, North	1	1	Lodger
Windsor Court, Greenhead	101	139	Mainly families.

York Place, Greenhead	1	1	Servant from Castlereagh
York St, North	2	5	1 inter-marriage & mother & daughter.
Total:	**1318**	**1951**	

Key to Table:

Pubs, where Irish lived	**Generally places of work.**
Most Populated Area	**Jowitt Square**
Second most populated	**Windsor Court**
Joint second most populated	**Post Office Yard**
Fourth most populated	**Swallow Street**
Fifth most populated	**Castlegate**
Sixth most populated	**Upper Head Row**

Table 6.8: Information on Lodgers & Visitors in Post Office Yard, Town Centre North, 1851.[815]

Name of occupant	Status	Age	Occupation	Place of birth
James **Bradwell**	**Lodger**	23	Labourer	Ireland
Margaret	**Lodger's wife**	21	Unknown	"
RO 263/11/53				
John **Conlan**	Head	32	Glazier	Ireland
Mary	Wife	28	Unknown	"
Thomas	**Lodger**	55	Labourer	"
John	**Lodger's son**	12	Labourer	Huddersfield
Mary	**Visitor**	12	Unknown	Ireland
Winifred	Servant	15	Servant	"
267/11/69				
James **Crachan**	**Visitor**	22	Fiddler	"
Mary	**Visitor's wife**	22	Unknown	"
267/11/69				
Michael **Gibbons**	**Visitor**	30	Labourer	"
Mary	**Visitor's wife**	30	Unknown	"
Sarah	**Visitor's daughter**	4		"
Patrick	**Visitor's son**	1		Huddersfield
267/11/69				
John **Golden**	**Lodger**	36	Unknown	Ireland
Catherine	**Lodger's wife**	34	"	"
Henry	**Lod's son**	7		"
William	**Lod's son**	16	Unknown	"
Thomas	**Lod's son**	5		"
Margaret	**Lod's daught**	9		"
265/11/62				
Michael **Kelly**	**Visitor**	38	Labourer	"
Michael	**Lodger**	34	"	"
Pat	**Lodger**	25	"	"
265/11//62				
Thomas **Kelly**	**Lodger**	32	Labourer	"
Bridget	**Lodger's wife**	37	Unknown	"
Margaret	**Lodger**	34	Unknown	"
Thomas	**Son**	10		"
Mary	**Daughter**	8		"
263/11/55				
Francis **Kelly**	**Lodger**	37	Labourer	"
Mary-Ann	**Lodger**	4		Huddersfield
264/11/61				
Jannik (?) **Kelly**	**Visitor**	40	Labourer	Ireland
266/11/68				

[815] Census Enumerator Returns of Huddersfield, 1851; Town Centre North – Post Office Yard, Ho 107/2295.

Bridget **Kelly** 267/11/69	**Visitor**	21	Servant	"
James **Laffe** 266/11/68	**Visitor**	30	Dyer	"
Nancy **Loughan** 264/11/57	**Lodger**	30	Dressmaker	"
Dennis **McGrath** 267/11/69	**Visitor**	26	Labourer	"
Catherine **Mee** Mary **Mee** 268/11/70	**Visitor** **Visitor**	15 20	Servant Servant	" "
Patsy **Murphy** Catherine Helen 266/11/68	**Visitor** **Visitor's Wife** **Visitor's Daughter**	24 24 1	Glazier Unknown	" " "
Thomas **Murray** 264/11/60	**Lodger**	26	Labourer	"

INTERVIEW WITH C. E. MORIARTY

August 29, 2007

Life in the tenements in Cork, Ireland

First of all the history of tenements in Cork –

Tenements in Cork were originally the town houses of the merchants that lived in Cork up to the middle of the nineteenth century. They lived in the centre of the city which was called 'the Marsh' because Cork was built on a bog and that was where the term 'Marsh' came from. There were tenements on the North of the River Lee and on the south side of the River Lee. What happened then? The merchants moved out to the suburbia of Cork, which would have been Sunday's Well and Montenotte and built nice houses up there. The people who came in from the country would have found accommodation then in those houses that they vacated in the centre city and also in the north and south suburbs and they became tenements. Because all that was involved was you had a landlord who was interested in making money and poor people who needed accommodation. Some of them came from the country with the idea of travelling on to the U.S. and to Britain, but, unfortunately, usually because of their financial situation they never got about it. They got labouring jobs in the City of the Cork, either on the docks or in the new factories that were kind of cropping up. They were usually mills and the people worked in those or else they were causal labourers looking for work in the building trade.

The accommodation in the tenements-

They were usually two bedrooms per family. You had a living room and a bedroom. The living room was fuelled by an open fire and was also used for cooking. At that stage you

wouldn't have electricity until about the late 1930s and after that, things started improving slightly, that you would have had gas cookers and some better facilities. The toilet facilities were rather primitive in one sense but in another sense they served a purpose. You had one outdoor toilet and the outdoor toilet served all the people in that particular house and you might have six to eight families per house. Some of these families you could have four to six children. So the sleeping accommodation was rather crowded to say the least and then not alone had you the outdoor toilet but you had the only water supply which would have been an outdoor tap. People had to collect the water from the outdoor tap. That was used for washing and for cooking etc.

In My time in Cork: -

But the thing is that in my time, in Cork, I grew up on the North side of the city and the place when I lived there it was called Wolfe Tone Street but before that it was Fair Lane. It was a thoroughfare where the cattle were brought from the Fair Field (which would have been two miles up the hill) through the city and to the ferry that would cart the live animals to Britain to be slaughtered and some of the cattle would be slaughtered in the immediate vicinity of where we lived. You had slaughter houses, today we would call them abattoirs but the thing is that these were controlled by the local authority and conditions on the whole were quite good, quite safe. As well as that, the children played on the streets and were quite safe because traffic would have been horse and carts up to the end of the Second World War because Ireland was neutral in the Second World War, which meant that we got very little fuel for vehicles so the only vehicles that would have had fuel would have been doctors, the police and the army. Other than that everything was delivered by horse and carts which was usually safe because they didn't travel fast and the children were safe on the street. There was a very good neighbourliness as well around us. I don't remember a drastic poverty in our area. I remember a few lads going to school winter and summer in their bare feet but

fortunately we never experienced that kind of arrangement ourselves. I was the youngest of seven, my mother died when I was two years and nine months and my father not only worked for us but he also cooked and looked after us and he set a very high standard. Not alone that, he was a man who had fought in the Royal Engineers in the First World War. He joined for adventure but he did not see much adventure in the trenches, but he had a very good outlook on life. Also, he ensured that we received a secondary education, which would have been the equivalent to the grammar school in Britain and as such we went on to sit our Leaving Certs which would be the equivalent of A levels in Britain and I think we did well in the circumstances and our families went to third level then when we didn't get the opportunity ourselves. They all did well because of my father's intuition and his outlook on life.

Was birthrate high in your area? Did you know for example of infant mortality? Was there many children that died in your area?

In my time, I say the mortality rate for infants that I remember was only one in my immediate area and that was scarlet fever; that was a girl of about eight years who ended up in the fever hospital which was a separate hospital for anyone with fever illnesses. To show you how things improved that was there for about 100 years and that was closed in the late 50s and the fever section was moved into the general hospital and the rates of isolation diseases were very low at that stage. The other aspect of health that resulted in death would have been women who died in childbirth, I remember one person who died in childbirth but I have heard of other people mostly from the beginning of the twentieth century up to about the 1930s when you would have fairly high rate of women and babies who would die when the babies were about to be born.

Other aspects: -

The other aspect of our growing up was I suppose we were lucky in some sense. After my mother died, her maiden sister looked after some us in a small house. There were a lot of small houses; I suppose you would call them artisan type houses in the immediate area. Some of us, I stayed with my father but a few of the family went to live with the aunt and I would call it a little house in the sense, it was a low house with two rooms. That would be a living room and a bedroom, there again she could have had an outdoor toilet but that outdoor toilet would have been only for those living in the house. She had an outdoor tap which again provided the water for all the uses of the house. There would have been a lot of these types of houses as well in the locality and all you had extra was, a little room as we called the 'loft'. There was a ladder which made its way and it was under the roof and two of my brothers slept there. I understand that my uncles on my mother's side had slept there in the early 1900s so that basically would have been about the health side and also the other aspects of the living accommodation in the immediate area. There would have been large families reared in these little houses, I suppose the girls and boys were segregated, in the sense, the boys slept in the attic and the girls would have slept with their mothers downstairs so that basically they were crowded and people accepted it because it would have been the norm.

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